

Music and Image in Classical Athens

Sheramy D. Bundrick



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MUSIC AND IMAGE IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

During the fifth century B.C., Athens witnessed the explosion of images depicting musical performance, such as Apollo and the Muses, frisky satyrs, the poet Orpheus, youths at school, brides at weddings, and the dead at tombs. Primarily found in vase paintings, but also in sculpture and now-lost wall paintings, these images provide significant insight into the musical culture of the time and place, especially given that so much of the literary evidence for musical culture in Athens has been lost. In this study, Sheramy Bundrick proposes that the depictions of musical performance were intimately linked to contemporary developments in the field of music itself, such as the debate over music in education, theories of musical *ethos*, and the growing popularity of professional musicians. Moreover, she argues that music became a visual metaphor for the harmony – or disharmony – of the city. Her book is the first to consider the broad range of musical images in the dynamic Classical period, as well as their sociocultural and artistic implications.

Sheramy D. Bundrick is assistant professor of art history at the University of South Florida, St. Petersburg. She has received grants from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Fulbright Foundation, and she was an Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2000–1.

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SHERAMY D. BUNDRICK

University of South Florida, St. Petersburg



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LET ME NOT LIVE WITHOUT MUSIC.

- EURIPIDES, *HERAKLES* 676

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book began with my doctoral dissertation, "Expressions of Harmony: Representations of Female Musicians in Fifth-Century Athenian Vase Painting" (Emory University 1998). While researching scenes of women playing music in domestic environments, I realized that musical imagery in general positively exploded in the fifth century B.C. and decided this merited further study. The initial draft of this manuscript was written under the auspices of an Andrew W. Mellon postdoctoral research fellowship at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2000–1; I thank the Department of Greek and Roman Art, especially Joan Mertens, and the Education Department, particularly Marcie Karp, for their hospitality. Thanks are also due to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, which awarded me a Travel Fellowship in 1996 for dissertation research. The manuscript was completed at the University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, in the period 2001–4.

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My deepest, warmest gratitude to my family, to whom I dedicate this book with much love and appreciation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters</i> . Oxford: 1956.
<i>Ad²</i>	T. H. Carpenter. <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford: 1989.
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica.</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>ARV²</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford: 1963.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>EAD</i>	<i>Exploration archéologique de Délos</i>
<i>EchCl</i>	<i>Echos du monde classique/Classical Views</i>
<i>GaR</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JWalt</i>	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Vols. 1–8. Zurich: 1981–1997.
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Para</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> . Oxford: 1971.
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

MUSIC AND IMAGE IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

Athens in the fifth century B.C. has been described as a “performance culture,” an evocative term suggesting the full extent to which the city’s activities revolved around performance: the gatherings of the assembly [*ekklesia*] and the lawcourts; the grand festivals with processions, sacrifices, and theatrical performances; athletic and musical competitions [*agones*]; cult rituals, down to the more private performances of household cult; and rituals of special occasion, from births to weddings to funerals.¹ Collective spectacle, display, and participation were in many ways the essence of the democracy.

Within this fifth-century performance culture, music played a highly significant role, just as it had for centuries. For the Greeks, music was the gift of the Muses and their divine ringleader, Apollo (compare Hesiod, *Theogony* 95–7); Classical Athenians sometimes went an extra step to proclaim that the Muses had been born in their city. Euripides said as much in his *Medea* (808–14), and in the earlier play *Rhesos* (often attributed to Euripides), the character of a Muse states point-blank: “I and my sisters make your Athens great in our art, and by our presence in the land” (941–2).² Most of the activities that colored public and private life were accompanied by music, song, dance, or all three, forming an essential part of education and marking life transitions.

What sets Athens apart from other Greek cities respected for their musical attainments is the vast amount of evidence at our disposal to comprehend the role of music in its society. Not surprisingly, literary sources have received the most attention.³ Poets, playwrights, and philosophers alike refer to the ubiquity and varying functions of music: its sounds, meanings, and sometimes its conspicuous absence. Some musical compositions survive in fragments, allowing for an understanding of notation.⁴ Plato and Aristotle, writing in the fourth century B.C., frequently refer to music in their writings, whereas lengthy treatises from the Hellenistic and Roman periods look back to the “good old days” of Greek music, which for their authors often means the music of Classical Athens.

The written sources, however, provide a tantalizingly incomplete picture of fifth-century music. Although later authors occasionally refer to fifth-century theoretical



1. Cup by Douris with school scene, ca. 490–480 B.C. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (F 2285). Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

texts, the originals do not survive. Only fragments of actual compositions do, most postdating the fifth century, and numerous other plays, poems, and texts that concerned music are likewise fragmentary or nonexistent. The dithyramb *Marsyas* by Melanippides of Melos is a perfect example; the complete composition is long gone, but bits of it can be recaptured from quotations in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistae* and other later sources. While texts like the *Deipnosophistae* and the pseudo-Plutarchean *De Musica* provide much information about earlier periods, they also contain hearsay and inaccuracies, having been written decades or even centuries after the fact. The literary evidence is clearly a small part of a much larger story.

We can turn to visual evidence to flesh out the picture, with two strategic advantages: the plethora of representations available and the fact they are contemporary in time. Fifth-century Athens has been dubbed a “a city of images,”⁵ and it is not surprising that many of the images that dotted the Athenian landscape – from the Parthenon frieze to the thousands of vases produced in the potters' quarter – are connected with musical performance. The potential significance of these depictions as a way to increase our understanding of Athenian music has long been recognized.⁶ However, musical scenes, on vases in particular, have often been used as mere illustrations and interpreted as photographic documents of actual practices. Such representations are typically viewed as indicative of *all* Greek music at *all* periods, rarely localized to the time and place of their production. Images such as those on a cup by Douris (Figs. 1 and 2) or on an amphora by the Berlin Painter (Figs. 3 and 4) are frequently presented as scenes of “daily life” in books on Greek



2. Reverse of the cup in Fig. 1, with another school scene. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

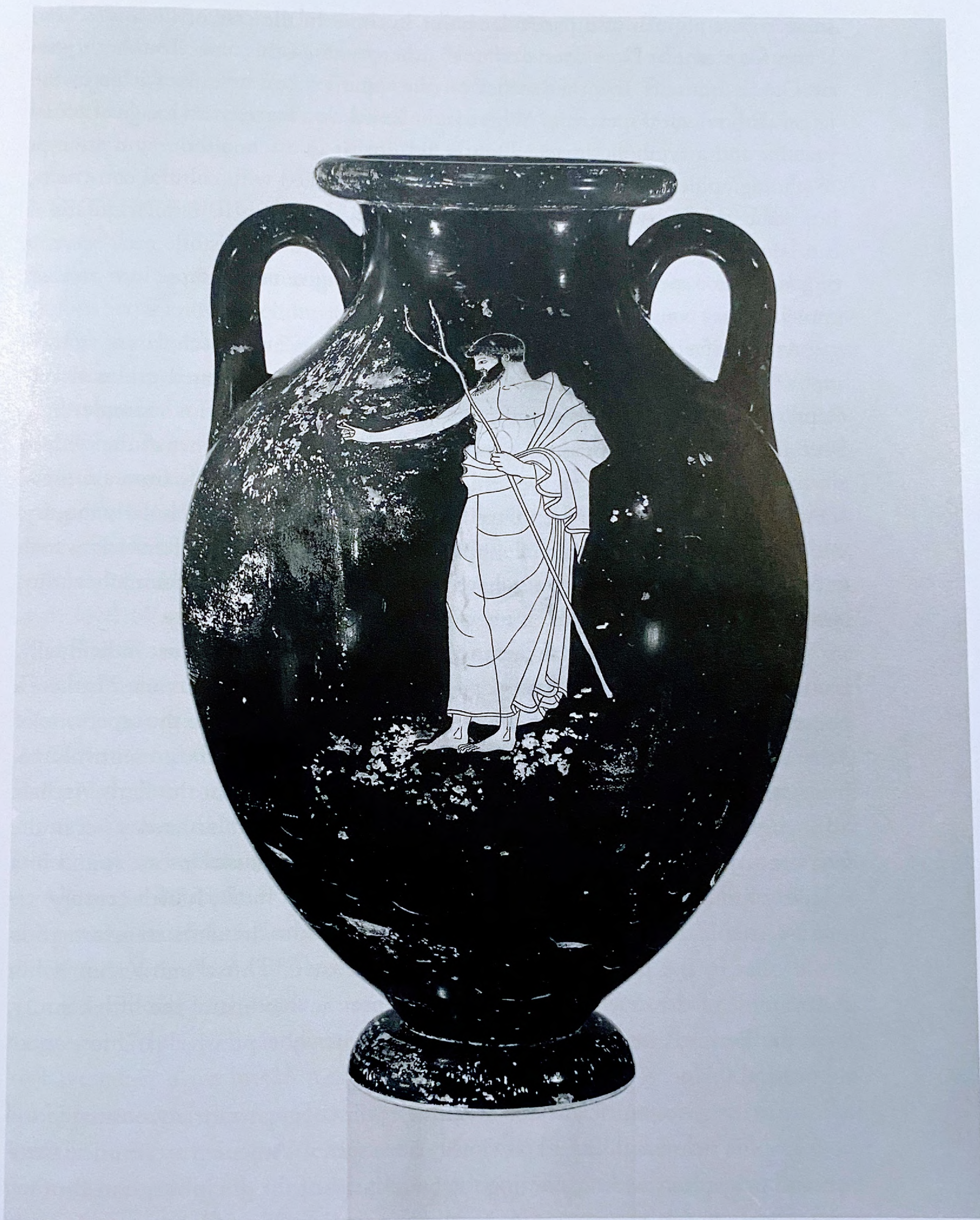
music or culture.⁷ Many assume that, because the Berlin Painter represented a kithara *this* way, *this* is precisely how a kithara looked, or because *this* is how Douris showed a school, *this* is exactly how Greek boys were routinely educated.

Interpreting the Athenian “city of images” is hardly such a straightforward enterprise. One cannot use a vase painting purely as an illustration or as a source secondary to a written text. Indeed, like any text, an image is a document to be read, a premise emphasized in recent iconographic studies.⁸ Visual images are essentially constructions, with the combination of different symbols and signs – musical instruments or otherwise – yielding meaning. Consciously or unconsciously, the artist created an image that expressed the ideals and values permeating Athenian culture, often based in reality but sometimes with an element of fantasy. Furthermore, one must distinguish among types of images. State monuments, like the sculptures of the Parthenon, convey the agendas of the government and the elite, while painted vases, although still often linked to the consumer elite, nonetheless come closer to what we would today call “popular culture” by virtue of their large numbers and wide audience.⁹ Much as movies and television serve as alternative forms of “reality” that reflect the concerns of our own society, so too fifth-century Athenian vases can be read within the larger context of the culture that produced them.

Such an approach invites new questions. Not only can we ask *what* can be learned about musical practice, but also *why* painters chose to depict musicians, *why* certain types of scenes were favored, and, perhaps most important, *why* these



3. Amphora by the Berlin Painter with kitharode; ca. 490 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.38). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



4. Reverse of the amphora in Fig. 3 with the kitharode's trainer or judge. Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

images were popular at a particular point in time. In the case of Douris' school scene, for example: How does it relate to other scenes of this type? To other scenes by Douris himself? To other scenes on the same vase? Where does it fit in the larger chronological spectrum? Where is the line drawn between an image of actual practice and a symbolic image? Douris did not sit in a schoolroom and attempt to photographically document its ambience. He worked with cultural constructs, but what was he trying to say and what can we learn from it? Similar questions can be asked of all fifth-century musical images. Plato or Aristotle each serve as only one voice speaking decades later, but the vases give us a glimpse into a wider, contemporary consciousness.

As part of a larger interest in so-called genre imagery among scholars of iconography, certain scenes that include musicians have already garnered exploration.¹⁰ Representations relating to the Panathenaic musical contests, for example, have been the subject of recent studies, as have wedding scenes.¹¹ Scenes of the symposium and komos have also been examined, although not necessarily from a musical standpoint.¹² Images of women have been a popular subject for scholarly inquiry, with female musicians occasionally coming into play.¹³ Mythological musicians such as Marsyas, Orpheus, and Apollo have had a longer history of academic scrutiny, corresponding to the longtime interest in mythological iconography.¹⁴

But we can go a step further, considering musical scenes not just individually, but broadly: Are certain scenes more popular than others at specific times? Is there a point at which musical imagery as a general category flourishes in the repertoire of Athenian artists? The answer is yes, and this realization inspires the present volume. If one examines the full scope of musical representations from the Early Archaic through the Late Classical period, it becomes apparent that their heyday lies in the fifth century. Whereas in the Archaic period music and musicians are found in a relatively limited range of scenes, a situation duplicated in the fourth century, we find a veritable explosion of new musical subjects and a dramatic transformation of old ones in the period from about 510 to 400 B.C. Thus Douris' cup is but one example of the new school scenes that appear at the turn of the fifth century, while the Berlin Painter's kitharode represents a newly expressive variation on an old musical theme.

Just as images of musicians were reaching a point of greater variety, creativity, and iconographic richness than had previously been seen in Athenian art, musical theorists and performers were expanding the boundaries of the discipline, transforming Athens into a preeminent center for musical innovation. The fifth century witnessed important and sometimes radical developments in organology and composition, as well as in musical theory and philosophy. Music had always been considered essential, but in the fifth century this attitude escalated into a heightened awareness of the power of music and its ability to influence the well-being of the city and its

inhabitants. Texts, mainly later in date, allude to the musical “revolution” of fifth-century Athens, but visual imagery truly shows the extent to which new musical tastes and ideas permeated contemporary society. Music was “on the agenda” in a way it had not been before and would not be again after the century ended.¹⁵

SIXTH-CENTURY MUSIC AND MUSICAL IMAGERY

Athens was a relative latecomer to the musical scene, initially overshadowed by regions better known for innovation, including Ionia, the islands, and certain cities of the Peloponnese, such as Sparta, Argos, and Corinth.¹⁶ During the seventh century, Sparta achieved prominence with the establishment of the festival of the Karneia and its musical contests, as well as the presence of musicians such as the poet Alkman and Terpander of Lesbos.¹⁷ Terpander is recorded as being the first winner of the Karneia *agon* and is further credited in the literary tradition (no doubt with some exaggeration) with inventing the barbitos, increasing the number of strings on chelys lyres from four to seven, and composing the first kitharodic *nomos*.¹⁸

In the sixth century, the cities of the northeastern Peloponnese reached their own level of musical notoriety, so much so that Herodotos (1.131.3) claims that “the Argives were spoken of as occupying the first place for music among the Greeks.”¹⁹ Sources preserve the names of such virtuosi as Sakadas of Argos, three times victorious in the Pythian auletic contest at Delphi (see subsequent discussion). At Corinth, tradition accords the invention of the dithyramb to a Lesbian kitharode, Arion, brought to the court of the tyrant Periander (Herodotos 1.23).²⁰ The origin of both Arion and the earlier Terpander at Lesbos testifies to the importance of the islands in the development of Greek music; one need think only of lyric poets such as Alkaios and Sappho.²¹ In Ionia, the tyrant Polykrates of Samos contributed to the positive state of musical affairs, bringing to his court such worthies as Ibycus of Rhegion and Anakreon of Teos.

A significant sixth-century development was the reorganization of the Pythian Games at Delphi to include musical contests [*mousikoi agones*], generally believed to have taken place in 586 B.C. (compare Pausanias 10.7.2–5), although an *agon* for kitharodes may have preceded this reorganization.²² Pausanias makes clear that aulos contests were a new addition to the festival, including one for aulodes (with a singer accompanying the aulos player) and one for auletes, solo performers of the instrument.²³ Sakades of Argos first won the latter with his daring *Pythikos nomos* commemorating Apollo’s victory over the dragon, a piece that would become standard fare in competition. Pausanias adds that the aulodic contest was disbanded only four years later because the performances were thought too “elegiac.” The auletic competition and the other *mousikoi agones*, however, remained a high point

of the Pythian festival, reflecting Apollo's own status as the musical god *par excellence*. An *agon* for kitharists – performers on the kithara without sung accompaniment – was added to the Pythian program in 558 B.C.

Athens, although not a total cultural backwater, certainly had much to live up to. The sixth century witnessed the efforts of Athens to achieve greater notoriety among Greek cities on a number of levels, the sphere of music being one of them.²⁴ The reorganization – most scholars agree on a “reorganization” rather than the “foundation” – of the Greater Panathenaia in 566 B.C. represents one of these concerted efforts, a desire on the part of Athens to possess its own great festival to rival those of the Panhellenic centers and other cities. Although literary sources do not say, many believe the Panathenaic program included *mousikoi agones* right from the start, based on the evidence of sixth-century vase painting.²⁵ The success of these contests, however, reached nowhere the point of the Pythian *agones* in this period; they remained essentially local in character until the fifth century, when professional competitors increasingly made the Panathenaia a “must” on their tours of Greek festivals.

The tyrant Peisistratos, together with his sons Hipparchos and Hippias, is usually and rightly credited with many important cultural innovations. Tradition explicitly links him with the Greater Panathenaia, although the extent of his actual involvement remains unknown.²⁶ The profusion of Athenian vases referring to the *mousikoi agones* suggests that Peisistratos and his sons shared a keen interest in the musical contests.²⁷ Hipparchos is associated with the promotion of the rhapsodic contests, in which participants recited Homeric passages; although these may or may not have included musical accompaniment, by their poetic nature they can be considered together with the *mousikoi agones*.²⁸ Literary sources show that Hipparchos, in the style of tyrants elsewhere, brought contemporary musical celebrities to Athens, including the poet Simonides, the musician–theorist Lasos of Hermione, and the poet Anakreon of Teos. Peisistratid involvement in the reorganization of the festival of the Delia on Delos and perhaps in the foundation of the City Dionysia in Athens demonstrates an additional yearning to place Athens on the musical map. During the fifth century, the City Dionysia in particular would become a central locus for musical innovation.

There is no question that important foundations were laid during the sixth century for the future development of *mousike* in Athens. Accordingly, we begin to see in Archaic Athenian art a steadily rising visibility of musical imagery, although its settings and contexts remain fairly limited. Not surprisingly, scenes relating to the Panathenaic musical contests make their first appearance around mid-century and grow in number as time progresses. Images of Apollo as Kitharoidos likewise play a significant role. Occasionally, mythical musicians such as Paris, Theseus, and Orpheus are shown with instruments, but these are relatively rare. Exceptions to

this general rule are scenes dating from circa 530 B.C. until the end of the sixth century that depict the hero Herakles as a kithara player (see Chap. 5). By far the most numerous musical scenes are associated with the symposion or komos, either actually showing mortal participants in these elite social occasions or indirectly referring to them through images of Dionysos and his entourage [*thiasos*]. Sympotic scenes themselves reflect elements of sixth-century musical innovation, most notably in the rather sudden appearance of the barbitos, around the time that Anakreon of Teos came to join the Peisistratid court.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY, “NEW MUSIC,” AND NEW MUSICAL IMAGERY

The assassination of Hipparchos in 514 B.C. and the increasingly oppressive regime of Hippias, brought to an abrupt end in 510 B.C., understandably slowed the progress of musical development in Athens. However, with the advent of *demokratia* in 508/7 B.C. and Athens’ subsequent rise to prominence as a result of the Persian Wars, the city quickly became *the* center of Greek musical innovation. The cultural seeds sown by the Peisistratids and others during the sixth century bore abundant fruit in the fifth, as musicians and musical thinkers from throughout the Greek world came to Athens to promote their ideas. Early twentieth-century German musicologists coined the phrase *Neue Musik* – “New Music” – to describe the altered state of the discipline, and more recent scholars still agree that the musical mood in Athens at the time verged on the highly radical.²⁹ Virtuosi performing in the theater or *mousikoi agones* tested the limits of musical technique, modifying musical genres and instruments to push the envelope and wow the crowds. Most performers were not Athenian, but from such places as Thebes and East Greece, further attesting to the central role Athens now played. Their ideas won popular support on many fronts but also sparked controversy, alienating more conservative thinkers like Aristophanes and later Plato and Aristotle. In the treatise *De Musica*, the speaker Lysias, himself a musical conservative, refers to specific virtuosi of the day and describes their impact (1135c–d): “Crexus, Timotheos, and Philoxenos, however, and other poets of the same period, displayed more vulgarity and a passion for novelty, and pursued the style nowadays called ‘popular’ or ‘profiteering.’ The result was that music limited to a few strings, and simple and dignified in character, went quite out of fashion.”³⁰

It is surely no coincidence that, beginning with the last decade of the sixth century, Athenian musical iconography dramatically transformed and continued to change over the course of the next hundred years. I argue that the appearance of new types of musical scenes, together with significant alterations of old subjects, reflects not only important developments in the field of Greek music, but the

specific relevance and location of those developments in the city of Athens. Three concepts that received particular attention, and around which I have organized this volume, are the discipline of *mousike* itself, the exploration of musical *ethos*, and the overarching ideal of *harmonia*.

Lasos of Hermione, who was brought to Athens under the Peisistratids but remained after the founding of the democracy, is credited in literary sources with the first musicological treatise.³¹ Although no fragments of the text survive, he was clearly both a theorist and a practitioner; the pseudo-Plutarchean *De Musica* (1141c) says that Lasos “transformed the music that existed before him.”³² Lasos’ work is indicative of the questioning and exploration *mousike* – literally “the art of the Muses” – would receive in fifth-century Athens. One area that received particular attention was the role of *mousike* in education. Recent scholarship has emphasized the fifth century as a turning point in Athenian education, from a system rooted in *mousike* and *gymnastike* [athletic training] to a curriculum more grounded in literacy [*grammatike*] and rhetoric. Education in *mousike* was originally a given for the elite male upper class, with the memorization and recitation of sung poetry, together with elementary training on a musical instrument, being standard fare. Whereas prior to the founding of the democracy instruction in *mousike* apparently took place at home or in small informal gatherings, schools seem to have appeared in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, perhaps a response to *demokratia*. The literary evidence for such a development is admittedly scant, but it is striking that scenes of boys and youths in an apparent schoolroom setting emerge in Athenian iconography around this time. So too other types of images stress the educational value of *mousike*, including scenes of the symposion and komos, which continue in the early decades of the fifth century to stress the performance of elite participants, as well as representations of Muses, who for the first time are characteristically shown with musical instruments. Subsequent tensions over *mousike* and education, however, appear to be played out in contemporary iconography, with school scenes and similar subjects virtually disappearing around mid-century. In representations of symposia from the second half of the century, citizen symposiasts play music less often themselves, while female professional entertainers (the often inaccurately dubbed “flute girls”) are frequently the only musicians in a scene. A general downplaying of “amateur” performance over the course of the fifth century forms an intriguing counterpoint to the increased visibility of musical “professionals.”

The term *ethos*, a word with a range of nuanced meanings, refers to the character of a musical instrument or composition, based on such elements as rhythm, mode, tempo, or pitch. Although the Greeks had long been aware of the potential effects of music on one’s actions – witness the deadly song of the Sirens in the *Odyssey* – extensive theoretical exploration of musical *ethos* apparently did not arise until the late sixth and early fifth centuries, escalating into the fourth. Concepts of musical

ethos were tied to perceptions of morality and proper behavior, and to ideals of *sophrosyne* [moderation] in the face of *hubris* [excessive pride in the face of the gods]. Lasos of Hermione may have been a pioneer in this area, while his reported student Pindar certainly acknowledged the psychological power of music in his works; the latter speaks in his *Odes* of the soothing qualities of music and its capabilities to tame the savage beast within.³³ In fifth-century Athens, Damon of Oa, who before he was allegedly ostracized and temporarily exiled served as an adviser to Perikles, similarly formulated theories concerning the relationship between music and the soul, as well as music and society. Damon's ideas influenced musical thought in subsequent centuries, with both Plato and Aristotle, for example, referring to him in their dialogues. In Plato's *Republic* (424c), Sokrates explains, "Styles of music are nowhere altered without change in the greatest laws of the city: so Damon says, and I concur."³⁴ Although none of Damon's original writings survive, nor those of other fifth-century theorists working on musical *ethos*, changes in musical imagery suggest that such ideas had entered the wider consciousness. There is a greater emphasis on myths that show the positive or negative effects of music on actions or character. New scenes of Orpheus seated among the Thracian soldiers – just prior to his murder at the hands of Thracian women – visually express how music can weave together the psyches of performer and audience. Images of Thamyras, the mythical poet who challenged the Muses to a contest only to lose both the contest and his eyesight, demonstrate the potentially hubristic behavior of musicians and serve as an admonishment to play in moderation. Scenes of the satyr Marsyas, who took up the discarded aulos of Athena, only to lose in a musical *agon* to Apollo, carry a comparable message.

Like *ethos*, *harmonia* had many associations, implying musical, social, and political harmony. Originally having the literal meaning of "joining together," in the sixth century *harmonia* began to describe musical notes united in a system of concord, the act of tuning a musical instrument, and the various musical modes such as the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian modes. In the fifth century, *harmonia* could also refer to the stability and equilibrium of the *polis*, an idea certainly promoted by Athenian leadership. Perikles, for example, was trained in music, and, as mentioned previously, Damon of Oa served as one of his preeminent advisers. In Thucydides' account of Perikles' funeral oration, Perikles speaks of "our love of what is beautiful" [*philokaloumen*] and "our love of things of the mind" [*philosophoumen*]; these sensibilities rhetorically framed such projects as the Akropolis building program; the construction of the Odeion, an elaborate hall on the south slope of the Akropolis used for concerts; and the apparent reorganization of the Panathenaic musical contests.³⁵ Contemporary musical scenes likewise express the theme of *harmonia* and affirm the role of music in the city: scenes of Apollo, a god exemplifying the ideals of justice and moderation; scenes of cult and festivals as the religious

framework of the city, including related images of musical contests and the theater; and finally, music and the wedding, an occasion that marks the joining together of Athenian citizens and, by extension, the continued survival of the *polis*. Indeed, the figure of Harmonia herself as a personification first develops in late fifth-century iconography, a literal embodiment of all these principles.

These trends in music and musical imagery – a focus on *mousike*, *ethos*, and *harmonia* – are tied to larger sociocultural developments in Athens resulting from the foundation and evolution of the democracy. It has been well demonstrated, for example, that the relationship – indeed the tension – between “mass” and “elite” constituted an underlying current in the development of *demokratia*. Education, with its intimations of social status and its alignment with elite customs such as the symposion, formed part of that tension, with the *demos* increasingly reacting in a hostile fashion to what was perceived as aristocratic tradition and upper-class intellectualism. Musical entertainment and spectacle, connected with the burgeoning Athenian festival calendar in the form of theatrical productions, contests, and processions, were interpreted as the domain of the *demos*, not the sole purview of the elite to be hidden behind closed doors.³⁶ This mind-set inspired the success of the professional musical virtuosi as much as it did that of the tragedians and comic playwrights. The movement of democracy from the Kleisthenic concept of *isonomia* toward the more radical manifestations of the mid-fifth century and beyond carried significant repercussions throughout Athenian culture, with music being but one of the playing fields.

REPRESENTING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Fifth-century Athenian art features a broad range of musical instruments – stringed, wind, and percussion – reflecting the diverse nature of music in this period. As is evident from the imagery, artists had preconceived notions of the functions and associations of specific instruments, likely derived from societal attitudes and actual practice. The task is to discover what semantic value vase painters and other artists assigned kitharas, harps, auloi, and so forth, and how this gives meaning to a scene. Sometimes visual representations reinforce what we know about musical instruments from literary sources, as in the case of the barbitos, an instrument of revelry, or the concert kithara, an instrument for the (predominantly male) virtuoso. In other cases, the imagery supplements, challenges, or even contradicts the textual evidence. The aulos, which has a distinctly unsavory reputation for many later authors, is presented as a more complex and multifaceted instrument in fifth-century iconography. Similarly, the harp, although it is generally identified with women, appears with different female musicians in the art than in texts; authors speak of female harpists as hetairai at the symposion and of the harp itself as a provocative instrument, while most harpists on vases are decorous brides or Muses.

Exploring the representation of musical instruments in fifth-century art brings an important caveat. Although it is valid to consider certain scenes evocative of contemporary thought or actual practice, it becomes more dangerous to see the specific depiction of instruments as consistently, organologically accurate. Too often, musicologists have treated vase paintings as if they were photographs in evaluating the size, proportions, and form of instruments. It is essential to remember that the quality of these representations varies, and an artist may or may not have been intimately familiar with a certain instrument.¹ Even the most detailed and seemingly perfect rendering may not be realistic; there is always the possibility that the artist opted for aesthetics rather than accuracy.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Four of the stringed instruments found in fifth-century musical imagery belong to the lyre family: the standard (*chelys*) lyre, *barbitos*, (concert) *kithara*, and *phorminx*.² Based on the construction of their soundboxes, the two former have been classified in modern times as bowl lyres and the two latter as box lyres.³ The ancient Greek terminology for these instruments is rather fluid, with the terms *lyra*, *kitharis*, *phorminx*, *chelys*, and *kithara* often overlapping. The imagery, however, is not: Vase painters typically have a clear sense of which instruments are appropriate in certain situations. The personality of the concert *kithara* in the imagery is thus very different from that of the *barbitos*. To distinguish among organologically divergent instruments, modern scholars have adopted a relatively precise nomenclature, which is used in this volume.

THE CHELYS LYRE

In ancient Greece, the *chelys* lyre was the quintessential instrument of the amateur musician.⁴ The simplest of the stringed instruments, it earned its name from its soundbox, made from the shell of a tortoise [*chelys*]. According to the *Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes* (20–60), Hermes invented the *chelys* lyre as a youngster and later gave it to Apollo as an instrument of reconciliation.⁵ The earliest known representations of the *chelys* lyre date from the late eighth – early seventh centuries, when it is found on a handful of Geometric and Subgeometric vessels.⁶ These slightly predate the earliest attested occurrence of the word *lyra* in literature, a fragment by the seventh-century poet Archilochos.⁷

From early on, the *chelys* lyre seems to have been associated with an aristocratic education, serving as a indication of social status in the imagery. On a black-figure band cup showing Theseus fighting the Minotaur, a woman (presumably Ariadne) stands to the side and holds the hero's musical instrument; the word *lyra* appears here as a labeling inscription.⁸ Although technically not part of the events at hand, the *chelys* lyre suggests Theseus' elite background to the viewer. So too on the so-called François Vase, Theseus carries a lyre as he leads the procession of Athenian youths and maidens.⁹ Similarly, in some Archaic depictions of the Judgment of Paris, the Trojan prince is shown with a *chelys* lyre as the goddesses and sometimes Hermes approach.¹⁰

This metaphorical function of the *chelys* lyre continues into the fifth century, as the instrument appears in the hands of mythological musicians or mortals with an appropriate educational background. This is particularly true in the early part of the century, when we find the lyre in school scenes, in other scenes with youths, or played by the patronesses of education, the Muses. Predictably, the *chelys* lyre



5. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos with women playing music; ca. 440 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 189). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

is also found in the context of the symposion and komos, in which men or youths trained in *mousike* regale their fellows with songs. Mythological characters such as Apollo, Paris, Tithonos, and Orpheus play the chelys lyre, indicating their own musical and poetic talent. Theseus is still associated with the lyre on occasion, as in the tondo of a cup by Euphronios showing the hero with a young woman, probably Ariadne.¹¹

The relationship of women to the chelys lyre is more complex. In addition to the Muses, citizen women are shown with lyres in their homes (Fig. 5), particularly in the second half of the fifth century.¹² In these cases, the mortal women are likely being associated with the divine Muses. On this hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, a seated woman tunes a chelys lyre as an Eros flutters overhead with a wreath; he likely symbolizes love and marriage. Another woman plays the aulos; a third holds a second lyre and a chest; and a fourth watches the proceedings. In contrast, professional female entertainers at the symposion or komos rarely play chelys lyres, but tend to be shown with auloi or barbitoi instead.¹³ Perhaps this discrepancy is meant to emphasize the specific connection of the chelys lyre with citizenship and citizen education.

Representations of the chelys lyre on red-figure vases retain the same general, recognizable shape, although details of size and construction change from scene to



6. Unattributed white-ground cup with Apollo; ca. 480–470 B.C. Delphi, Archaeological Museum (8140). Photo: Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY.

scene, depending on the whims of the artist. When shown from the outside, the tortoiseshell soundbox is clearly visible, as on an unattributed white-ground cup with the god Apollo (Fig. 6).¹⁴ Based on the markings shown on vases, as well as fragmentary examples surviving today, the tortoise in question has been identified as the *testudo marginata*, a large species native to Greece.¹⁵ Hide covered the inside of the soundbox, providing added resonance; the wooden arms were inserted between the hide and tortoiseshell. A small bar-shaped fastener secured the strings (typically six or seven in the paintings), which then stretched over a bridge up to the crossbar [*zygon*, lit. *yoke*]. At the crossbar, each string was wound around a leather-and-pin fitting or collar known as a *kollops* (pl. *kollopes*). Vase painters sometimes show musicians tightening the *kollopes* and thus tuning the lyre.¹⁶ The chelys lyre appears flat when shown frontally or from the back, but it actually had a distinct inward

curve. The Timokrates Painter presents an innovative profile view of a chelys lyre on a white-ground lekythos (Fig. 7), revealing this curve.¹⁷ Although some have doubted this identification of the instrument on the Timokrates Painter's vase, similar views on two vases by the Phiale Painter confirm that all three depict the chelys lyre.¹⁸

Performers could easily maneuver the chelys lyre because of its relatively small size and light weight, a characteristic that vase painters exploited. We see it held upright, slightly tipped, or even horizontally by musicians, who themselves either stand or sit. The musician plucks, touches, or damps the strings with his or her



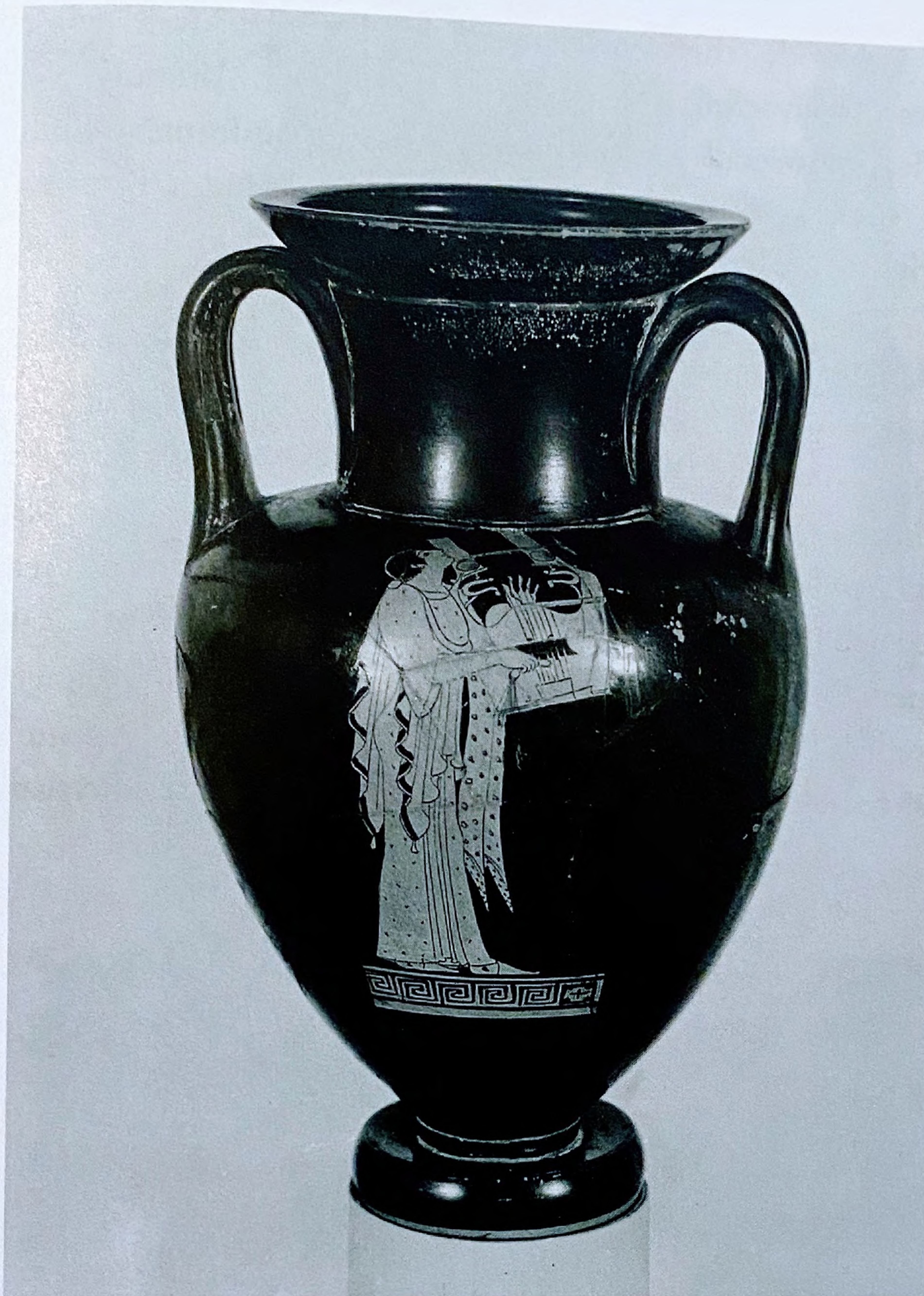
7. White-ground lekythos by the Timokrates Painter with female musicians; ca. 460–450 B.C. Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History (A 1020). Photo: Museum.

left hand and sweeps a plektron across the strings with the right. Most frequently painters show lyre players as if they have just completed an outward sweep of the plektron, with the right hand positioned away from the instrument and the left still touching the strings. Such a pose makes it clear to the viewer that the person is actively playing the instrument. In many cases, the artist shows the cord that was typically used to attach the plektron to the lyre to keep it from being lost. These same tendencies are found in images of the kithara, barbitos, and phorminx as well.

THE KITHARA

In dramatic contrast to the chelys lyre, the elaborately designed concert kithara was predominantly associated with virtuoso performers.¹⁹ In the *Politics* (1341a), for example, Aristotle describes the kithara as an *organon technikon*, an instrument that requires the abilities and training of a professional. There were two kinds of kithara players: kitharodes (from the Greek *kitharoidos*), who sang as they played, and kitharists, who provided purely instrumental music. Kitharodes are more common in vase painting, although it is difficult to distinguish between a kitharist and kitharode if the musician is simply standing with the instrument. An exquisite kitharode appears on the amphora by the Berlin Painter in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 3); the musician dramatically grasps his instrument as he flings his head back in song.²⁰ He stands alone on the obverse of the vase, while the reverse depicts a judge or trainer. He wears the long chiton characteristic in images of kithara players; while this example is rather plain, the costumes of other kitharodes are often elaborately patterned. The kithara is shown frontally, emphasizing its elegance and size, with the graceful curves of its arms echoing the shape of the vase itself. The fingers of the kitharode's left hand touch the strings as if damping them, and his right hand holds the plektron at the far side, having just completed a sweep of the strings. The painter represents the accessories of the kitharode, including the sling that helps support the kithara's weight and the decorative swath of fabric tied to the instrument and swaying in the breeze.²¹ It has been suggested that the latter derives from Near Eastern musical traditions and is therefore a form of "oriental pomp," although it may have served a practical purpose to cushion the player's arm or protect the instrument from perspiration.²² The Berlin Painter duplicates the curve of the kithara and the curve of the amphora in the undulation of the fabric, resulting in a truly harmonious composition.

Vase painters are largely consistent in their depictions of kitharas. The large, sturdy, wooden soundbox is flat-based, with arms that curve outward, then inward, culminating in parallel, vertical posts. An elaborate system of curlicued elements, whose presence and function remain somewhat enigmatic, fills the area where the



8. Amphora by the Brygos Painter with kitharode; ca. 480 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, John Michael Rodocanachi Fund (26.61). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

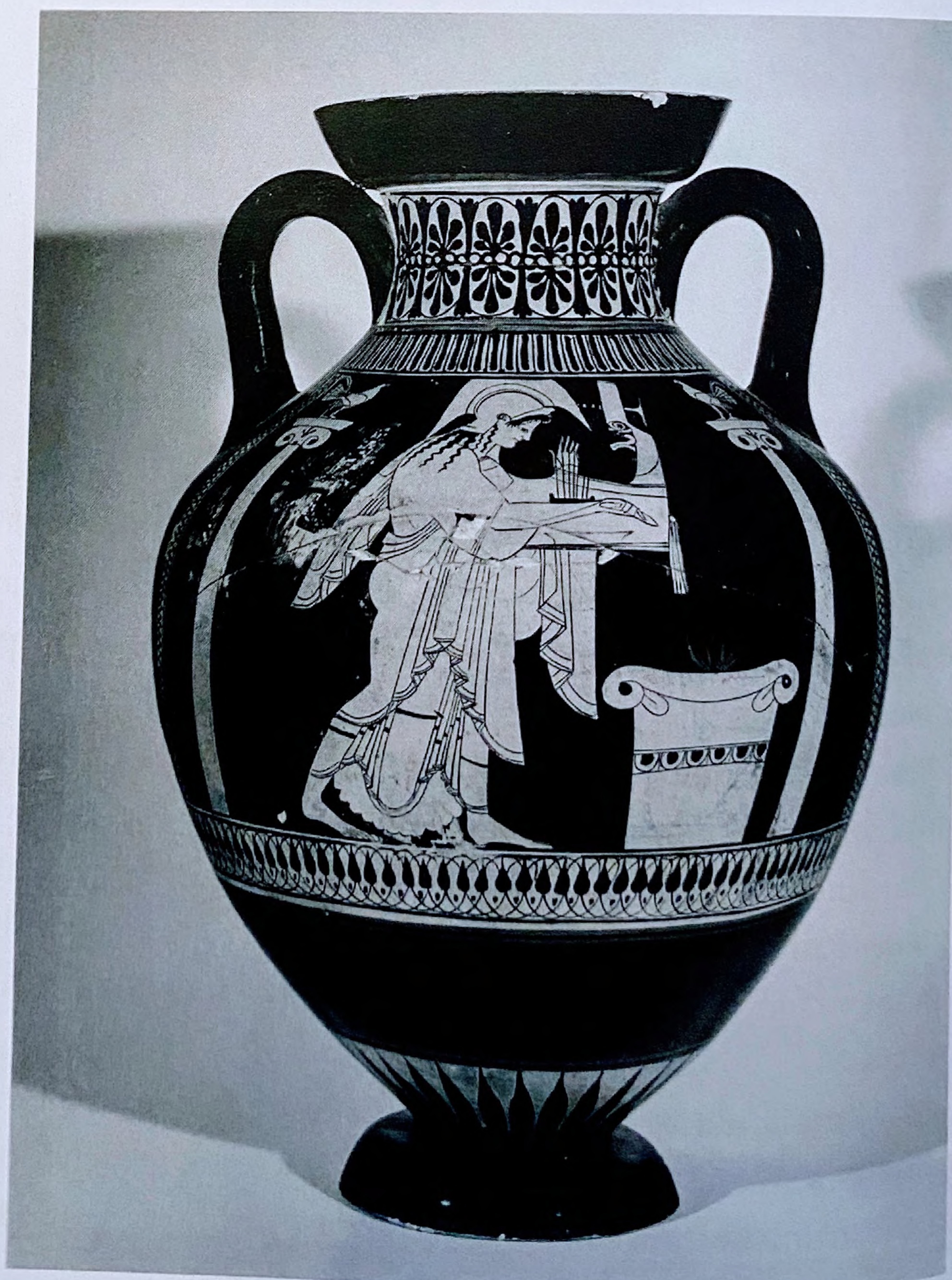
arms curve. On the vases, seven strings are typical; these are affixed to a *chordotonon* [lit. *string-stretcher*] at the base, then cross a bridge on the soundbox, perhaps made of metal. Literary sources suggest that in the second half of the fifth century several of the professional virtuosi performing in Athens experimented with greater numbers of strings, but this is rarely reflected in the art. As on a chelys lyre, the strings are anchored to a *zygon* at the top of the instrument with *kollopes*. The crossbar of the concert kithara, unlike that of the chelys lyre, terminates in circular knobs or handles at both ends. A fragmentary loutrophoros by the Persephone Painter, in presenting a rare profile view of the kithara, shows one of these knobs straight on and reveals their potential for ornament, here carved to resemble rosettes.²³

Care should be taken, however, not to read all representations too literally. To emphasize the kithara as the main character of a scene, painters sometimes make the instrument unusually large, as on an amphora by the Brygos Painter (Fig. 8).²⁴

Like the Berlin Painter's kitharode, this musician tips his head backward while singing, although he lacks the vivacious movement of the former. Although the composition is visually pleasing overall, in "real life" a standing performer would have difficulty balancing such a heavy, unwieldy kithara. The Berlin Painter's kithara (Fig. 3) is slightly smaller and more proportionate, perhaps closer to actual size.

Both Archaic and Classical vase painters show the kithara in very particular contexts, the result of the instrument's association with professional performance. Scenes of *mousikoi agones* are predictably the most numerous, although there are variations on the theme during the second half of the fifth century. The kithara is also associated with the god Apollo, although we find a significant development over time: Whereas in the Archaic period the kithara is Apollo's predominant musical attribute, in the Classical period it is often replaced with the chelys lyre. This change raises questions and may reflect the growing controversy over the "professionalism" of music (see Chap. 5). Less commonly, satyrs play the kithara among the Dionysian *thiasos*.

9. Amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter with Athena playing a kithara; ca. 500 B.C. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (F 2161). Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.



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10. Amphora by the Berlin Painter with Nike carrying a kithara; ca. 480 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (1890.30). Photo: Museum.

Gender distinctions in Greek music are most clearly evidenced in representations of the kithara. Whereas mortal women in the imagery do play the chelys lyre, barbitos, and most other musical instruments like the men, they do not play the concert kithara. Once again this likely results from the kithara's association with professional musical training and contests, which in this period were closed to women.²⁵ Even the Muses, who are shown with almost every other kind of musical instrument during the fifth century, are not depicted with kitharas. There are only two exceptions to this unwritten rule: The goddess Athena (Fig. 9)²⁶ sometimes appears with the kithara, as does the goddess Nike (Fig. 10).²⁷ Given that they do so in scenes relating to the Panathenaic musical contests, one can surmise their specific connection with the *mousikoi agones* inspires such portrayals.

THE BARBITOS

If the chelys lyre served as a metaphor for citizen status and education, and the kithara denoted virtuoso professionalism, then the barbitos signified leisure and

revelry above all else.²⁸ From its first appearance in Attic vase painting during the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., the barbitos was overwhelmingly associated with the symposion, komos, and retinue of Dionysos, evoking conviviality and social interaction.²⁹ This connection likely reflected the origins of the instrument: Before its introduction to Athenian culture, the barbitos was linked with East Greek lyric poets such as Sappho, Alkaios, and Anakreon. Indeed, Anakreon is often credited with bringing the barbitos to the mainland, when the tyrant Hipparchos invited him to join the Peisistratid court in Athens around 525 B.C.³⁰ Some ancient authors even say he invented the instrument.³¹ It is possible that the East Greeks had themselves learned of the barbitos from neighboring peoples such as the Phrygians or Lydians; the word *barbitos* has a distinct foreign sound and possibly Phrygian etymology.³²

Although the basic components of the barbitos are the same as those of the chelys lyre, from the tortoiseshell *soundbox* to the *kollopes*, it significantly differs from the lyre in having a *smaller soundbox* and much longer strings and arms. The arms diverge from the *soundbox* in straight lines, then curve inward under the crossbar at the top, which is mounted between two short, separately attached vertical posts. Vase painters displayed the long, elegant shape of the barbitos to great advantage, using its size for pleasing compositions with either seated or standing musicians. On the name vase of the Berlin Painter, a satyr holds a barbitos, the long body of the instrument allowing it to be clearly distinguished from the figure of Hermes standing behind.³³ The diagonal line of the barbitos forms a dramatic counterpoint to the head of the satyr, who faces the other direction, while complementing the angle of Hermes's head and back leg. Although most vase painters show the barbitos with seven strings like a chelys lyre, it can also be depicted with five, six, or even eight strings. The length of the strings gave the barbitos a lower pitch than that of the chelys lyre.

Many images of the barbitos date from the late sixth and early fifth centuries, in most cases upholding the instrument's merry reputation. In Dionysian scenes, satyrs, nymphs, and even the god himself perform with the barbitos. At the symposion and komos, the instrument is played by professional female musicians and hetairai, as well as by male revelers. On a cup by the Foundry Painter (Fig. 11), a dancing barbitos player is joined by other komasts: one with an aulos, another with krotala, and a fourth carrying a large skyphos and staring at the viewer with frontal face.³⁴ A young attendant at far right carries a staff alluding to the social status of the komasts; the revelers themselves are nude save for carefully draped himatia. Such scenes of unfettered hilarity differ markedly from others in which the barbitos appears in a more demure context, as for example a calyx krater by the Christie Painter dating from later in the century (Fig. 12).³⁵ The women in this musical gathering are likely



11. Exterior of a cup by the Foundry Painter with revelers at a komos; ca. 480 B.C. Toledo Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (1964.126). Photo: Museum.

to be Athenian citizen women (see Chap. 3), here accompanied by a figure of Eros, symbolizing love and marriage. The barbitos thus suggests joy of a marital and romantic kind.

The barbitos appears, seemingly incongruously, on two surviving vases depicting the death of Aigisthos, who had conspired with Klytaimnestra to murder King Agamemnon. On a calyx krater by the Dokimasia Painter (Fig. 13), Aigisthos clutches the barbitos as he slips off his ill-gotten throne, seized by Agamemnon's vengeful son Orestes.³⁶ Scholars have debated the presence of the musical instrument, since there is nothing in the literary tradition describing Aigisthos as a musician or poet.³⁷ Some have suggested that the composition results from "contamination" or "confusion" (deliberate or otherwise) with some other scene type, such as the death of Orpheus³⁸ or the death of Linos.³⁹ More likely the solution is to be found in the meaning of the barbitos itself, emphasizing Aigisthos' complete relaxation and total surprise at Orestes' attack.⁴⁰ The barbitos implies luxury, complacency, and leisure. Aigisthos' fleshy body, long beard, and musical instrument contrast strongly with the sword-brandishing figure of Orestes, who is dressed as an Athenian soldier complete with corselet, Attic-style helmet, and greaves. The inclusion of a musical instrument is even more appropriate considering that – according to Aischylos at least, although this vase predates the *Oresteia* – the one who encouraged Orestes to kill Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra was none other than Apollo, god of justice and god of music.

The barbitos virtually vanishes from Athenian iconography after the fifth century, whereas the chelys lyre and kithara continue to be represented.⁴¹ Aristotle provides an intriguing insight in the *Politics* (1341a): “they [Athenians] rejected many of the instruments used by the ancients, such as *pektides* and *barbitoi*, and those that promote the pleasure of the people who hear their executants, such as *heptagona* and *trigona* and *sambykai*.”⁴² Although it is impossible to know to what degree the barbitos really was rejected by the Athenians, perhaps there is something to what Aristotle says. Perhaps political upheavals and changing social values did contribute to the gradual unpopularity of the barbitos, at least in the imagery. Here we may think more broadly of the elite, aristocratic implications of the symposion and the lifestyle with which it was associated. Symptotic iconography changed a great deal over the course of the fifth century, just as the *demos* became increasingly dissatisfied



12. Calyx krater by the Christie Painter with women and Eros; ca. 440–430 B.C. Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (521). Photo: Museum (K. Oehrlein).

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13. Calyx krater by the Dokimasia Painter with death of Aigisthos; ca. 470 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William Francis Warden Fund (63.1246). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

with the aristocratic nature of the symposion and its connections with *habrosyne* and *tryphe* (both words denoting luxury).⁴³ This may lend even stronger meaning to the two Early Classical scenes of Aigisthos with the barbitos; Aigisthos belongs not only to the realm of leisure, but *habrosyne*, which at this point was increasingly, fundamentally contrasted with the world of *sophrosyne* and upright behavior, here epitomized by the soldier Orestes.

THE PHORMINX

From the eighth century B.C. down through the fifth century, Greek artists periodically represented a stringed instrument with a round-based, wooden soundbox

and short, rectangular arms.⁴⁴ Its first Geometric appearances make it the earliest attested stringed instrument in post-Bronze Age Greek art; for that reason, many modern scholars associate it with the *phorminx*, an instrument mentioned in eighth-century texts, twenty-one times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alone.⁴⁵ The instrument shown in sixth- and fifth-century art seems to relate to the eighth-century version; some designate it a *phorminx* as well. Others prefer terms such as round-based *kithara*, cradle *kithara*, or cylinder *kithara* to acknowledge the similarity between its construction and that of the larger concert *kithara*.⁴⁶ The term “*phorminx*” is used in this volume to distinguish the instrument from the concert *kithara* and point up the relationship between the eighth-century and Classical versions.

The *phorminx* is primarily associated with men from the eighth through the sixth centuries, appearing in scenes of the *komos* or other social gatherings. However, from the late sixth century, the *phorminx* appears less frequently in such contexts, perhaps superseded by the growing popularity of the *barbitos*.⁴⁷ When the *phorminx* does appear in fifth-century art, it is typically played by women, a gender shift that cannot be precisely explained. Although nymphs accompanying *Dionysos* sometimes carry a *phorminx* on Classical vases,⁴⁸ images showing Muses or mortal women with the instrument are more common. On a white-ground *lekythos* by the Achilles Painter (Fig. 14),⁴⁹ the inscription *Helikon* identifies the *phorminx* player as a Muse, and the women on two white-ground cups by the Hesiod Painter are probably Muses as well.⁵⁰ One of these (Louvre CA 482) is particularly innovative: The seated woman actually has *two* *phorminxes*, tuning one lying flat in profile on her lap while sounding the notes on a second.⁵¹ As seen here and elsewhere, the *phorminx*'s soundbox sometimes features circular elements, which can resemble eyes. The woman with a *phorminx* on a calyx krater by the Christie Painter in Würzburg (Fig. 12) is likely to be mortal, gathered with her friends; the same is likely true of a *phorminx* player on another white-ground *lekythos* by the Achilles Painter in Oxford.⁵² These are probably Athenian women of the privileged class, with the *phorminx* helping metaphorically to associate them with Muses. The *phorminx* does appear on a few vases showing professional dancing girls or *hetairai*, maintaining the instrument's connection with women but of a different social background.⁵³ Like the *barbitos*, the *phorminx* virtually disappears from Athenian vases at the end of the fifth century. The reason, however, remains unknown.

THE THRACIAN KITHARA

A controversial stringed instrument is first attested on an early fifth-century white-ground cup by the Pistoxenos Painter representing the death of *Orpheus*.⁵⁴ In some ways a hybrid of the *phorminx* and the concert *kithara*, in the imagery this instrument has wide curved arms and a broad, flat-based soundbox, which is shorter than the concert *kithara* and features small circular elements like a *phorminx*. Vase



14. White-ground lekythos by the Achilles Painter with Muses on Mount Helikon; ca. 440 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (80). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. Athen Varia 833).

painters are not, however, consistent in their renderings.⁵⁵ The instrument continues to be intermittently represented during the remainder of the fifth century, in both mythological and nonmythological scenes. Among the former, it appears in several scenes of the doomed poet Thamyris, as for example on a well-known Polygnotan

15. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos with punishment of Thamyris; ca. 440–430 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (G 291). Photo: Museum.



hydria in Oxford (Fig. 15); for this reason, Max Wegner bestowed the appellation “Thamyris kithara” on the instrument.⁵⁶ This term is a misnomer though, for not only is the instrument played by characters other than Thamyris on vases, but Thamyris himself sometimes plays other things. Some have preferred the term Thracian kithara, citing the Thracian ethnicity of Thamyris and Orpheus, but this term is equally problematic, as there is no specific evidence for the instrument’s Thracian origins.⁵⁷ For convenience, however, the designation Thracian kithara is used here.

In nonmythological contexts, the Thracian kithara appears in scenes relating to musical contests and the theater. On at least six vases from the second half of the century, it is held by victorious performers in scenes of musical competition, as on a pelike by the Painter of Athens 1183 (Fig. 16) and another by the Kassel Painter.⁵⁸ On a striking bell krater by Polion from about the same time (Fig. 17), three satyrs (likely costumed actors) hold Thracian kitharas and are joined by an aulete at the right of the scene.⁵⁹ These representations are curious, for there is no evidence that such an instrument was ever used in the theater or *mousikoi agones*, and indeed no solid

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literary evidence for its existence at all.⁶⁰ It has been suggested that the instrument was a fantastical prop or that it was deliberately meant to look non-Greek, thus identifying its performers as foreign or “other” in some sense.⁶¹ Finally, it has been identified as a “real” instrument, but as one with distinctive foreign connections. The considerable variations among depictions of this instrument have contributed to these different suggestions. In some cases the arms are ridged or twisted, in others the arms have horned protuberances, while in at least one instance the arms are in the shape of a swan’s neck.⁶² The soundbox also varies, with some examples being decorated and others not, some more curved at the bottom and others flatter. The discrepancies among even the very small number of representations contrast with images of the concert kithara and the chelys lyre, which tend to be largely standard in form. The mysterious nature of the instrument is augmented by its confinement to fifth-century vases; after the end of the century, it no longer appears.



16. Pelike by the Painter of Athens 1183 with victorious musician; ca. 430 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (1183). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. NM 1045).

17. Bell krater by Polion with satyr musicians; ca. 420 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.66). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



THE HARP

Harpes are not found in Athenian vase painting until the fifth century, a surprisingly late development.⁶³ They had been seen very early in Bronze Age Aegean art, specifically in Cycladic marble statuettes, in which male musicians were sometimes shown with a triangular frame harp.⁶⁴ Harpes were likely reintroduced into post-Bronze Age Greek culture from Asia Minor, with literary evidence suggesting a Lydian connection.⁶⁵ We find references to harpes in Archaic lyric poetry; Sappho speaks of a *pektis* and Anakreon of a *magadis*, with their descriptions making clear that these are harpes of some kind.⁶⁶ It is not known exactly when harpes were introduced to Athens, but, given the long history of harpes in the Aegean, it is curious that Athenian artists do not portray them sooner.

Vase painters depict three different varieties of harp, although how these relate to the terms in the literature (*pektis*, *magadis*, etc.) is not certain. The angle harp is the simplest type, consisting of a neck (balanced on the player's lap) and arched soundbox; one side of the instrument is left open. An amphora by the Peleus Painter (Fig. 18), the earliest surviving Athenian representation of any harp, features a Muse playing an angle harp.⁶⁷ The painter shows the instrument in great detail, down to the pins or tenons that attach the strings to the soundbox. This scene demonstrates that, unlike other Greek stringed instruments, a *plektron* was not utilized; rather,

the performer plucked the strings with both hands while playing. The plucking motion led to the nickname *psaltria* [pluckers] for professional female harpists; one such *psaltria* appears on a chous by the Eretria Painter, playing an angle harp for a reclining youth.⁶⁸ This chous and the Peleus Painter's amphora constitute the only known fifth-century images of angle harps.

So-called frame harps comprise the other two types of harps on Athenian vases. Instead of being open to one side like the angle harp, on a frame harp a post joins the neck and soundbox, creating a triangular frame and a higher string tension. One of the frame harps has an arched soundbox comparable with that of the angle harp; a single representation of this type survives from fifth-century Athens, again showing a Muse with three-quarter face playing the instrument.⁶⁹ The second type of frame harp, depicted on six known contemporary Attic vases, instead features a spindle-shaped soundbox, wider toward the middle and tapering toward the ends.⁷⁰ The term *trigonos* [three-cornered], which first appears in fifth-century texts, likely



18. Amphora by the Peleus Painter with Mousaios and Muses; ca. 430 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 271). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.



19. Lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter with bride, Eros, and companions; ca. 430–420 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.73). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

describes this type.⁷¹ The vase paintings suggest that this harp was played slightly differently from the other two types, with the soundbox facing away from the player rather than being held next to the body. The longest strings are therefore closest to the performer. Four of the six images of the spindle-shaped frame harp are by the Washing Painter, who depicts the instruments with great care and detail, each having an elaborately decorated soundbox.⁷² At the same time, his representations remind us not to be fooled by the apparent realism of the instruments. On a lebes gamikos in New York (Fig. 19), the musician precariously balances the harp with one hand while the other arm is draped over the back of her chair.⁷³ On another lebes gamikos in Athens (Fig. 20) the harpist stands while playing.⁷⁴ The size and unwieldy nature of the harp render both of these poses improbable.

While admittedly few in number, fifth-century images of harps partially corroborate the literary evidence by associating these instruments with women.⁷⁵ This forms a strong contrast to the Bronze Age, when in the art men played these instruments. The harpist is a Muse on four of the surviving examples: the Peleus Painter's amphora, an unattributed hydria in Berlin, a pelike by the Meidias Painter, and a volute krater by Polion.⁷⁶ The Washing Painter's four scenes all concern the wedding, with two of his harpists as brides and the other two as female companions

or attendants.⁷⁷ Only the Eretria Painter's chous appears to show a professional female harpist, judging from the inclusion of a male symposiast. The imagery simultaneously represents a significant departure from the literary texts, in which some Classical comic poets associate the harp with adulterous and erotic female behavior.⁷⁸ Other negative perceptions of the harp among Greek authors concern its "many strings" and ability to play many *harmoniai*; during the fourth century, both Plato and Aristotle criticize the harp for these reasons. In Plato's *Republic* (399c–d), Sokrates refuses to allow it in his ideal city because of its harmonics, and Aristotle also denounces it in the *Politics* (1341a–b) for its associations with professionalism



20. Lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter with bride and companions, including woman with harp; ca. 430–420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (14791). Photo: Museum.

and pleasure. The fact that fifth-century artists tend to show the harp in a different light – as a favorite of Muses and brides – suggests that the popular view of the instrument did not necessarily correspond with that of a few select conservatives.

WIND INSTRUMENTS

THE AULOS

The aulos ranked among the most popular of musical instruments, as revealed by the hundreds of representations in all periods of Greek art.⁷⁹ Despite the common description of auloi as “flutes,” these wind instruments were in actuality not flutes at all. The modern classification of wind instruments depends on how air is introduced into the pipe to set up sound-producing vibrations; in a flute, a performer blows transversely across a hole in the pipe. In contrast, the Greek aulos contained a reed mouthpiece – probably a double-reed mouthpiece in the Classical period – that vibrated and set the air within the pipe into motion as the performer blew into it. Among modern instruments, the clarinet and the oboe operate according to this principle. The oboe, because it has a double-reed mouthpiece, is perhaps closest to the Greek aulos, without being identical in form.⁸⁰

The early history of the aulos remains unclear. Although pipes are well attested in ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian art, their introduction to the Bronze Age Aegean was comparatively late and representations there relatively few. Some Early Cycladic marble figurines show a man playing pipes, while a processing musician on the Minoan Hagia Triada sarcophagus plays a form of aulos as well.⁸¹ No images of pipes survive from the Mycenaean sphere; indeed, none appear at all in mainland Greece until the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C., when auloi may have been reintroduced as a result of trade with Asia Minor and the Levant.⁸² However, unlike the foreign-sounding term “barbitos,” used for the stringed instrument with a decidedly Eastern origin, the word “aulos” is a native word, meaning “tube” or “duct.”⁸³

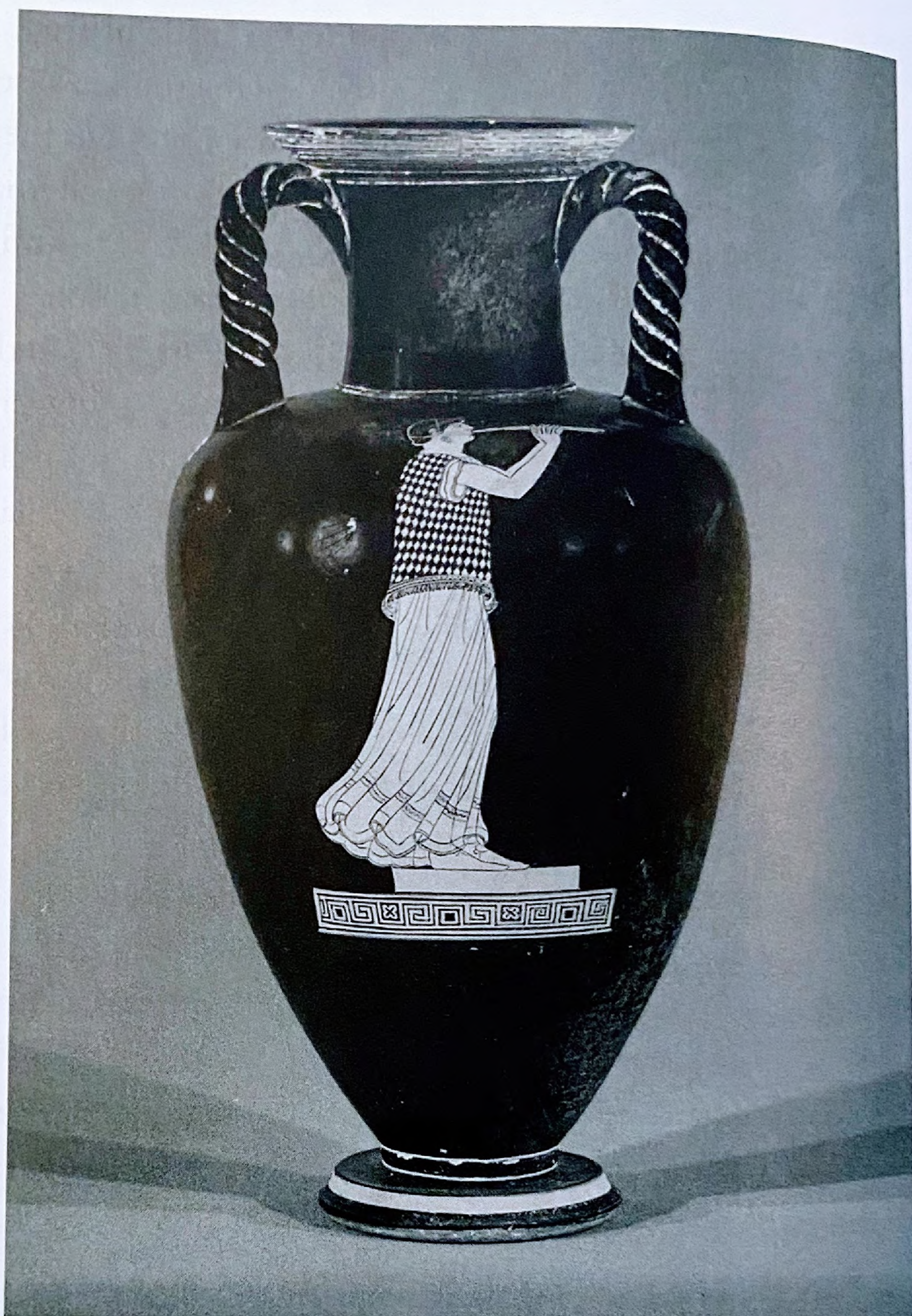
Thanks to literary references, artistic representations, and a series of surviving auloi in bronze and wood, it is possible to reconstruct the standard Greek aulos with some accuracy.⁸⁴ No actual mouthpiece reeds are attested, but they are visible in some vase paintings when the pipes are not in the musician’s mouth: On the amphora by the Peleus Painter previously discussed, a Muse either fits the reed into the instrument or works it with her fingers to soften it (Fig. 18). The reed fit into two bulbous sections, termed the *holmos* and *hypholmion*, which in turn fit into the body of the pipe. In the Classical period, auloi had five finger holes, four on the top and one beneath for the thumb; sometimes a sixth hole was included further

down the pipe. The body of the aulos was made of reed, wood, bronze, bone, or ivory, with the choice of material affecting the sound. Vase paintings unanimously show two auloi being played by a musician at once, but the evidence does not allow us to conclude whether they were played in unison, alternately, or with a different melody on each. On vases the musicians often have their fingers in the same places on both pipes – implying they were played in unison – but it is difficult to be certain whether this is artistic license or actual practice. In the same way, one cannot ascertain the standard length of auloi. In some paintings it appears as though one of the two auloi played by a musician is longer than the other, which would imply a different sound, but this may simply be an attempt to visually distinguish the closer from the more distant.

Vase paintings represent aulos players with various accoutrements, which, although they do not survive in the archaeological record, are also attested in literary sources. The aulete on an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Figs. 21 and 22) wears the *phorbeia* (lit. halter, used elsewhere to refer to horse halters). This device included a strap that went over the mouth and around the back of the head and a second strap that passed over the top of the head for security.⁸⁵ The mouth-strap had two holes in it for the auloi. Some ancient sources suggest that the *phorbeia* metaphorically signified restraint by keeping the cheeks from bulging.⁸⁶ The actual function of the *phorbeia*, however, seems related to steadying the pipes and giving the player more control over his breath and the instrument. This would be particularly important for musicians playing in an outdoor environment, when the efforts of playing loudly for long periods of time would cause strain to the lips and face. Such an explanation for the presence of the *phorbeia* is corroborated by the vase paintings, for men playing outdoors in contests or komos processions are its primary wearers.⁸⁷ In contrast, men and women playing indoors at the symposion do not typically wear the *phorbeia*. Additional accessories shown in the vase paintings are the *sybene*, a leopard-skin or deerskin bag used to carry the auloi when not in use, and a *glottokomeion*, the small box for holding the reeds, which attached to the *sybene*. Even in scenes in which auloi are not being played, a *sybene* hanging in the field attests to the instrument's presence.

While visual and literary evidence make it possible to reconstruct the organology of the aulos, understanding fifth-century attitudes toward the instrument is a more complex undertaking.⁸⁸ Texts dating from the fourth century and later hint at controversies surrounding the aulos. In the *Politics* (1341a), Aristotle condemns the use of the aulos in education, decrying it as “not a moral instrument but one that excites the emotions.” He adds that “it should be used in the kinds of circumstances where the spectacle offers more potential for *katharsis* than for learning.”⁸⁹ In Plato's *Republic* (399b–e), Sokrates takes a more drastic view, wishing to have the aulos

21. Amphora by the Kleophrades Painter with aulos player; ca. 500–490 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 270). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

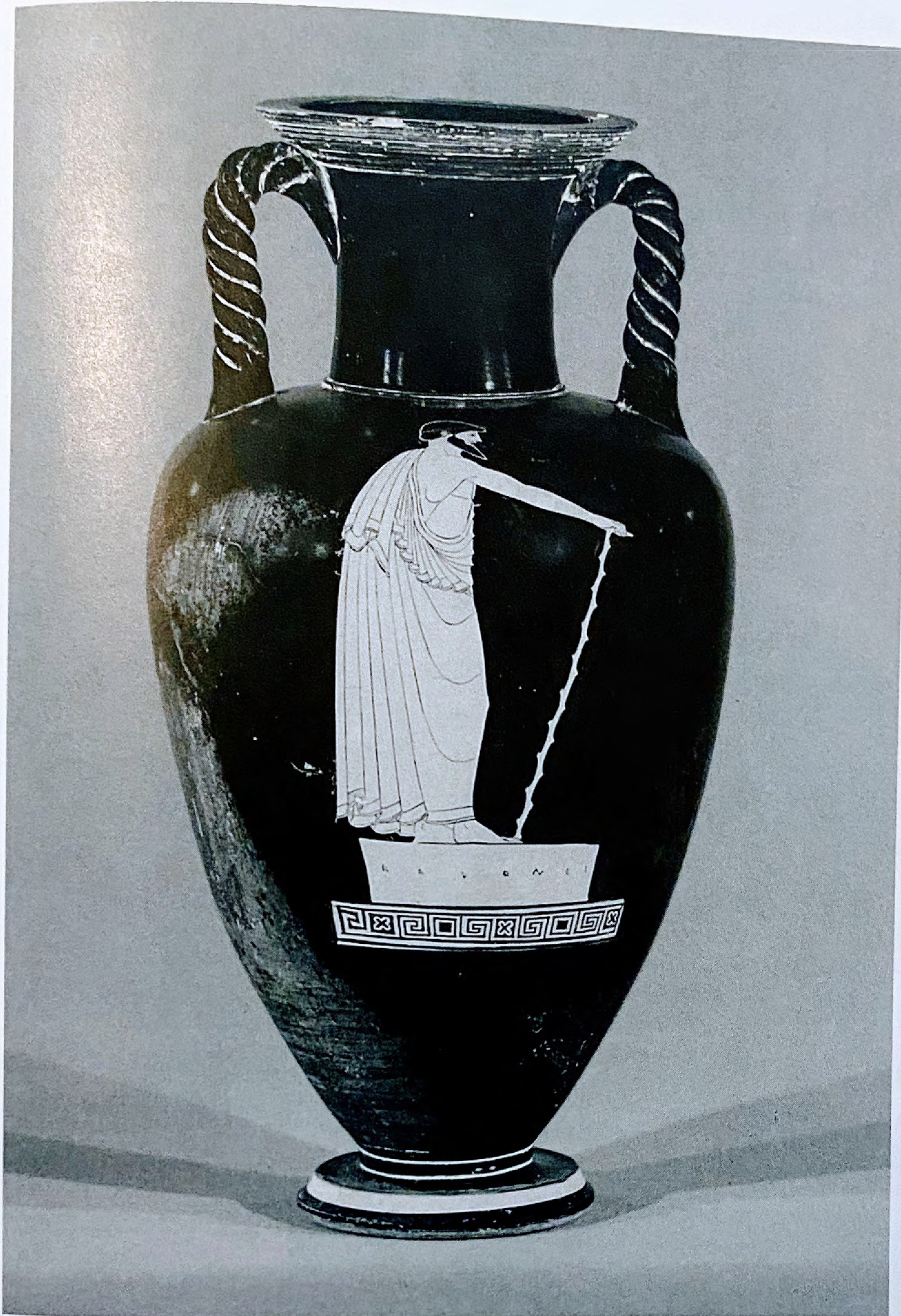


banned from his ideal city (along with harps and other many-stringed instruments) and concluding that “it’s nothing new that we are doing, in judging Apollo and his instruments to be superior to Marsyas and his.”⁹⁰

Other post-fifth-century texts refer to the unsuitability of the aulos in the context of the Marsyas story. We find accounts of Athena rejecting the aulos and the satyr Marsyas taking it for his own instrument, with various commentary on why Athena did so: whether because it distorted her face and made her ugly⁹¹ or because she did not feel it useful. Aristotle says in his *Politics* (1341b), “It makes a good story to say that the goddess did this because she was put out by the way it distorted her face; but it is more likely to have been because training in aulos-playing contributes nothing to the intelligence, knowledge and skill being things that we attribute to Athena.”⁹² We even find an account in Plutarch (*Life of Alkibiades* 2.4–5) of Alkibiades refusing to play the aulos in school, arguing that the instrument robbed

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22. Reverse of the amphora in Fig. 21 with performer. Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

its player of speech while using the story of Marsyas as justification:

At school, he [Alkibiades] usually paid due heed to his teachers, but he refused to play the aulos, holding it to be an ignoble and illiberal thing. . . . "Auloi, then," said he, "for the sons of Thebes; they know not how to converse. But we Athenians, as our fathers say, have Athena for foundress and Apollo for patron, one of whom cast the aulos away in disgust, and the other flayed the presumptuous aulos-player." Thus, half in jest and half in earnest, Alkibiades emancipated himself from the discipline.⁹³

Largely as a result of these and other post-fifth-century literary sources, the aulos has tended to have a certain reputation in modern scholarship, in which it is often characterized as a forbidden, rejected object, one thought suitable for "others"

23. Plate by Epiktetos with satyr holding aulos; ca. 500 B.C. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (509). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



and outsiders rather than free persons.⁹⁴ A related interpretation suggests the aulos is a quintessentially Dionysian instrument, a symbol of the irrational, diametrically opposed to the stringed instruments of Apollo. This Apolline–Dionysian opposition was explored in Nietzsche’s *Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and further espoused elsewhere.⁹⁵ Such extremist interpretations have been supported visually by the plethora of images presenting the aulos in raucous or erotic circumstances. A plate by Epiktetos graphically demonstrates the potential of the aulos erotically to arouse (Fig. 23): A dancing satyr grasps an aulos in each hand as a *sybene* hangs from his erect penis.⁹⁶ One could also cite some suggestive images of auletrides (Fig. 24): On a cup in the manner of the Gales Painter at Yale, a nude woman holds aulos as a symposiast fondles her.⁹⁷ It is certainly true that most depictions of the aulos are connected with the symposion and the realm of Dionysos, and yet if we examine the full range of aulos representations, we find more ambiguity than straightforward stereotypes would have us believe.⁹⁸ Alongside scenes of satyrs and prostitutes are scenes of the Muses (Fig. 18), schoolboys, and other “respectable” characters with aulos. The imagery reveals a striking dual perception: While fifth-century Athenians acknowledged the possible dangers of the aulos, they also recognized its positive aspects, when the instrument was used in moderation and in appropriate situations.

One of the more common modern misconceptions about the aulos is that it was never used in education, a belief largely based on the complaints of Aristotle

and Plato.⁹⁹ However, fifth-century imagery demonstrates that the aulos played an important role in the education of young citizens during this period. Particularly in the first half of the century, youths play or sing along with the aulos in scenes of school or leisure. The exterior of the cup by Douris in Berlin (Figs. 1 and 2) clearly depicts the aulos in the context of educational instruction: A singing boy accompanies the aulos on one side, while on the other an aulos is suspended in the field over a recitation lesson, together with a chelys lyre. A cup by Makron in Vienna includes a youth actually playing the aulos in a school setting before a teacher.¹⁰⁰

Images such as these seem to contradict what Plato and Aristotle say about the aulos and education; one might assume that their objections were unilaterally supported and that the vases are misleading. However, Aristotle clearly states in the *Politics* (1341a) that the aulos *was* used in Athenian education, even after the Persian Wars:

The aulos prevents the player from using words, and this is another fact about it that militates against education. Hence our forefathers did well to forbid its use to young people and free men, though to begin with they had used it themselves. As their affluence brought them greater leisure and



24. Cup in the manner of the Gales Painter with female aulos player and male reveler; ca. 510–500 B.C. New Haven, CT, Yale University Art Gallery (1913.163). Photo: Museum.



25. Bell krater by the Danae Painter with Apollo and Muses; ca. 440–430 B.C. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (IV 697). Photo: Museum.

increased their aspirations towards virtue, and as their opinion of themselves increased as a result of their deeds (in earlier times as well as after the Persian Wars), so they set themselves to learning of all sorts, making no settled distinctions but rather enquiring. For this reason they introduced aulos-playing as a subject for study . . . in Athens it was so widespread that probably the majority of free men engaged in it. . . . Their experience caused them later to reject it, when they were better able to judge what is conducive to virtue and what is not.¹⁰¹

A similar statement is made in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistae* (184d): "In the old days music was a matter of concern to all the Greeks, hence there was great enthusiasm even for the art of the aulos. Chamaeleon of Heraclea, at any rate, says that all the Spartans and Thebans learned to play the aulos . . . and the most eminent of the Athenians as well."¹⁰² Immediately following in the same text, Athenaios refers to the tradition that Alkibiades learned to play the aulos at the hands of Pronomos of Thebes, one of the celebrated auletes of the day, directly contradicting the account of Plutarch already cited. These references, along with the vases previously discussed, argue against the idea that the aulos was never considered appropriate in an educational setting. It is more difficult to pinpoint whether the aulos was eventually dismissed from the standard Athenian curriculum, as Aristotle suggests; the

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26. Hydria by the Duomo Painter with woman playing the aulos, Eros, female companion, and a man, probably her husband; ca. 440–430 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 191). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

imagery is not helpful, as school scenes in general tend to fade from the repertoire of vase painters by the mid-fifth century.

The association of the Muses, and even Apollo, with auloi in Athenian imagery further debunks the notion that the aulos was exclusively linked with Dionysos and the realm of the “irrational.” On a bell krater by the Danae Painter in Vienna (Fig. 25), a Muse sits on a *klismos* playing the aulos while another Muse tunes a chelys lyre and Apollo stands with his laurel staff.¹⁰³ Nor is the fifth-century association of the Muses with auloi limited to the imagery: Sophokles describes the goddesses as “aulos-loving” in his play *Antigone* (963–5). A much later text, the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *De Musica* (1135f–1136b), claims that Apollo rather than Athena invented the aulos, while Pausanias (5.7.10) also links aulos music to Apollo.

One could cite numerous other images that portray the aulos as a decorous instrument: sacrifice scenes that often include a young aulete and are sometimes even performed in honor of Apollo; images of “respectable” women playing the aulos at home (Fig. 26)¹⁰⁴; even scenes of Eros playing the auloi at weddings. In short, fifth-century Athenian imagery does not suggest a wholesale rejection of the aulos, or even a consistent picture of immorality and immoderation. Like so many things in Greek culture – including wine, for example – the aulos was evidently considered best in moderation and in appropriate settings. What then were Plato and Aristotle

criticizing? Their comments can be placed in a larger context: Both authors object to professional music in general, not just the aulos specifically.¹⁰⁵ Aristotle also names the harp and kithara as inappropriate for education, his disapproval extending to any instrument played by professionals (*Politics* 1341a). In the same way, Plato speaks against all instruments that are “numerous-noted” or have a “multiplicity of strings.” Plato and Aristotle protest the increasing professionalism of music and advocate a suitably restrained musical education for citizens, embodied for them by the chelys lyre rather than the aulos or other professional instruments. By the fourth century, the aulos had indeed become a symbol of the so-called “New Music” and an instrument associated with the complex, newfangled musical innovations of performers such as Pronomos of Thebes. Plato and Aristotle were conservatives in a changing musical world, comparable to critics of jazz or rock-and-roll in the twentieth century. Their reactions to the aulos cannot be taken as representative of the entire city of Athens and the entire Classical period.

THE SYRINX

The syrinx (or panpipe), one of the simplest instruments, consisted of a group of reeds – usually seven, sometimes five – all the same length, bound together by beeswax.¹⁰⁶ The player blew transversely across the tops of the reeds to produce sound. The ends of the reeds were stopped up with beeswax, with the pitch of each reed determined by the amount of beeswax placed inside the reed column. The *Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes* (512) alleges that Hermes invented the instrument.

The syrinx had a rather limited usage in Greek culture, being strongly associated with pastoral settings; in Plato’s *Republic* (399d), Sokrates permits its use in his ideal society for herdsmen in the countryside. Its appearances in Attic vase painting are relatively few and support this general characterization. During the Archaic period, the Muse Kalliope plays the syrinx on the François Vase as part of the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, as does another unnamed Muse during the same occasion on a nearly contemporary dinos by Sophilos.¹⁰⁷ The goddesses continue to play the syrinx on some fifth-century vases; on a white-ground pyxis by the Hesiod Painter (Fig. 27), one of the Muses approaching a mortal poet holds a syrinx as her sisters carry other types of instruments.¹⁰⁸ We are reminded of the Muses’ home on Mount Helikon and their association with nature and the outdoors. Hermes carries a syrinx on an amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter as part of a *sacra conversazione* with Apollo (playing his kithara), Dionysos, and nymphs, recalling at least one version of the syrinx’s origins.¹⁰⁹

THE SALPINX

Like the syrinx, the salpinx represents an instance in which text and image agree in their characterization. Unlike other instruments discussed in this volume,



27. White-ground pyxis by the Hesiod Painter with Muses and a poet; ca. 460–450 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (98.887). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

however, the salpinx (pl. salpinges) or trumpet was not used for purely musical purposes. Rather, its primary function was heraldic: It called soldiers to arms, proclaimed commands on the battlefield (both charges and retreats), was used in the city to convene the assembly or inaugurate religious festivals, and in general communicated signals of various kinds.¹¹⁰ First and foremost it was considered a military instrument; Xenophon, in his treatise *On the Cavalry Commander* (3.11–12), sings the praises of the salpinx in battle: “how splendid, when the salpinx sounds and they charge once more at a quicker pace! After the halt, the salpinx should sound once more, and they should charge yet a third time at top speed.”¹¹¹

Artistic representations, along with one surviving example in Boston, show that the salpinx consisted of a long, narrow cylindrical pipe with a bell [*kodon*] at the end. Vase paintings suggest that salpinges ranged from about three to four feet in length, although one must allow for artistic license; the Boston salpinx, surprisingly, is over five feet long. The Boston salpinx is made of joined ivory sections with a bronze bell, but the majority of Greek salpinges would have been made completely of bronze. The copious length and penetrating sound of the salpinx – its tone and

volume are described in literary sources – must have rendered it particularly useful in a battle context, where it could be both seen and heard over the din. A black-figure epinetron depicting an Amazon playing the salpinx visually alludes to its sound through the onomatopoeic inscription TOTE TOTOTE.¹¹²

In keeping with its military associations, the salpinx is typically shown in the hands of warriors on red-figure vases. Strikingly, these depictions are largely confined to the late sixth and early fifth centuries, particularly the first generation of red-figure cup painters such as Oltos and Epiktetos.¹¹³ A few scenes place the trumpet player in a narrative situation, as on the interior of a cup, possibly by Epiktetos, where a warrior with raised spear and shield rushes into battle together with a soldier playing a salpinx.¹¹⁴ In most cases, the salpinx player is shown alone, as in the tondo of a cup by the Ashby Painter (Fig. 28); the trumpeter carries a pelta in his left hand and is nude except for a helmet and greaves.¹¹⁵ Two scenes of the symposion, both with musical overtones, appear on the exterior of this cup. On one side, a reclining auletris plays her instrument while a youth raises a kylix; on the other, a crouching nude auletris pauses during her performance to bind her hair. The youth accompanying her holds the auloi as he drinks from a large skyphos, his frontal face engaging the viewer over the top of his cup. The piercing sound of the salpinx on the interior becomes a visual, aural, and metaphorical pendant to the equally piercing sound of the aulos on the exterior. The Ashby Painter thus summarizes the wartime and peacetime activities of the ideal Athenian male on this vase, using musical allusions to further his point.

Occasionally satyrs play the salpinx in a droll reversal of the norm.¹¹⁶ The dignified warrior of the Ashby Painter's cup forms a comic contrast to a bilingual eye cup by Epiktetos, where a satyr plays a salpinx while carrying a pelta and rather superfluous oinochoe.¹¹⁷ The opposite side features another satyr with pelta and drinking horn; the horn is likely meant as a tongue-in-cheek pendant to the other satyr's salpinx.¹¹⁸ The playful militancy of the satyrs contrasts with the elegant black-figure mortal horseman in the tondo, whose serious bearing points up the absurdities on the exterior. An unusual lekythos by Douris depicting Eros playing the salpinx may similarly serve as a witty comment on both the instrument itself and the nature of love and war.¹¹⁹

Primarily because of its military associations, the salpinx is not played by Athenian women on vases; the only female characters shown with a salpinx are Athena, Amazons, and, in at least one case, a nymph.¹²⁰ A single lekythos survives depicting Athena holding a salpinx, possibly about to raise it to her lips and play.¹²¹ Athena's masculine qualities, together with her status as goddess of war and patron of Athens, make her a fitting player for the salpinx. Images of Amazons playing salpinges similarly emphasize their warlike nature, although with the intent of defining them as "other" rather than protectors.¹²² Like the images of male warriors, scenes of



28. Interior of a cup by the Ashby Painter with warrior playing a salpinx; ca. 500 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat Gift and The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1993 (1993.11.5). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

trumpeting Amazons are found in the Late Archaic period.¹²³ The most well known is a hydria by Hypsis (Fig. 29), where three Amazons appear: The central, named by inscription as Antiope, plays the salpinx while the other two (Andromache and Hypsopyle) arm themselves.¹²⁴ Although Antiope has been described as “testing” the trumpet, more likely she is sounding the call to arms.¹²⁵ The strong diagonal line of the instrument and the active pose of the body render the composition both dynamic and pleasing. An Amazon sounds an alarm or calls for retreat on a hydria by the Leningrad Painter, as Herakles fights Andromache.¹²⁶

It is not clear why the salpinx, favored in Late Archaic images, virtually disappears from Athenian iconography after the Persian Wars.¹²⁷ One would expect to find salpinges, for example, in the numerous Classical representations of the Amazonomachy or other battle scenes.¹²⁸ One reason may be purely practical: The long lines of the salpinx are difficult to reconcile with a tightly packed battle composition. The hydria by Hypsis, although visually striking, demonstrates the limited number of figures that can be placed in a scene with a salpinx player. When amphorae,



29. Hydria by Hypsis with Amazons, including one with salpinx; ca. 490 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (2423). Photo: Museum.

volute kraters, and the like become the preferred forum for rendering battle scenes during the Classical period, the compositions tend to be crowded, and there is literally less room for the salpinx. Further speculation as to the decreased iconographic popularity of the salpinx must await further evidence.

PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

Unlike stringed and wind instruments, percussion instruments play a relatively minor role. In both the imagery and the literature, percussion instruments are predominantly associated with the god Dionysos, his followers, and his domain of the symposion and komos. Three different types of percussion instruments existed: the tympanon (a handheld frame drum), krotala (clappers), and kymbala (small metal finger cymbals). Krotala appear the most frequently in both sixth- and fifth-century vase painting; these consist of a pair of wooden bars joined by a hinge, with a performer typically holding one such pair in each hand.¹²⁹ We find them in the hands of hetairai or other professional female entertainers, satyrs, nymphs, and male revelers. They would have produced a loud clapping sound and were appreciated

for their rhythmic nature and loud noise rather than for any intrinsic musical value. Compare a passage in Euripides' *Helen* (1308–14), in which the Chorus describes a search for Persephone: "The Bacchic krotala sounded aloud with their piercing clamor, when the goddess yoked wild beasts to her chariot, to seek for her daughter, snatched out of the circling dance of maidens."¹³⁰ In the tondo of a cup by Epiktetos (Fig. 30), a young male reveler playing the aulos is joined by a barebreasted hetaira clad in a *sakkos* [cloth headwrap] and animal skin, dancing and playing the krotala.¹³¹ The animal skin references Dionysian nymphs or maenads¹³² while pointing up the wildness of both the music and the dance.

Kymbala, of which several bronze examples survive today, were favored for their clanging noise of metal on metal.¹³³ They seem to have been particularly associated with Dionysian and orgiastic "mystery" cults, and were themselves of Eastern origin. However, kymbala were seldom represented on Athenian vases; the François Vase marks the only surviving black-figure depiction, with a nymph accompanying Dionysos playing the kymbala in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis. The Dionysian context here suggests that, even at this early stage, kymbala were associated with the god. Kymbala are shown only a handful of times in red figure, always



30. Interior of a cup by Epiktetos with youth playing aulos and hetaira playing krotala; ca. 500 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 38). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

in scenes linked with Dionysos or some kind of cult.¹³⁴ Thus a small boy plays the kymbala on a volute krater by the Curti Painter showing a procession toward two divinities, perhaps Dionysos–Sabazios and Kybele.¹³⁵

This same scene also features a worshiper or nymph playing the tympanon, dancing ecstatically with other female companions as part of the procession. She has a nearly frontal face, suggesting her abandonment into the music and dance; the rhythm of her tympanon complements the rhythm of the aulos being played behind her. Tympana, small frame drums stretched with hide and often decorated, do not appear with any frequency on Athenian vases until the second half of the fifth century, at which point they are also mentioned in the literary sources for the first time.¹³⁶ Here text and image corroborate one another, as tympana in both cases are connected with Dionysian cult and revelry. On the vases they are almost exclusively shown in the hands of nymphs or Dionysian worshipers.¹³⁷ We can compare Dionysos' address to his female followers in Euripides' *Bacchae* (55–63), calling on them to “lift up the tympana” around the palace of Pentheus.¹³⁸ Nymphs play tympana in scenes of the Return of Hephaistos,¹³⁹ in the so-called Lenaia scenes,¹⁴⁰ and in more generic gatherings of the Dionysian *thiasos*.¹⁴¹ Unlike other musical instruments such as the barbitos and phorminx, the tympanon does not disappear from Athenian iconography at the end of the fifth century, but continues to be found on fourth-century vases, probably the result of the heightened popularity of Dionysian imagery and cult.

MOUSIKE: THE ART OF THE MUSES

The Greek word *mousike*, first attested in late sixth-century texts, encompassed much more than its English cognate *music* might suggest.¹ Literally *the art of the Muses*, *mousike* included anything over which the Muses presided, not only instrumental music but also dance and the singing of poetry. From early in Greek history, the discipline of *mousike* formed the backbone of a traditional education – what Aristophanes would describe as the *archaia paideia* (*Clouds* 961) – together with athletic training [*gymnastike*].² Particularly associated with the elite, this traditional training in *mousike* emphasized the attainment of “amateur” musical skill, enough to demonstrate one’s culture, sophistication, and by extension social status in the company of peers. It seems that instruction was informal in nature, at least until schools began to appear in the late sixth and early fifth centuries.

Recent studies of Classical Athenian education have emphasized the fifth century as a time of change that witnessed a gradual shift from the *archaia paideia* to a curriculum increasingly grounded in rhetoric and literacy [*grammatike*].³ We do find *mousike* remaining an educational focus during the fifth century, again primarily among the elite; the term *mousikos* continues to describe someone of good education and background, with its opposite, *amousikos*, denoting a boor.⁴ References in literature to not knowing how to play a stringed instrument can similarly be interpreted as descriptions of an uneducated person.⁵ In his *Life of Themistokles*, Plutarch reveals that critics of Themistokles ridiculed him for not knowing how to tune a lyre, that is, for not being educated enough to have received instruction in music.⁶ Perikles, in contrast, had an exemplary education under the auspices of the musical theorist, Damon, and was thus regarded as a man of culture.

Literacy, however, was on the rise, challenging the traditionally oral culture and likely spurred on by the growth of democracy.⁷ Citizens actively participating in the assembly [*ekklesia*] and other democratic institutions had greater need for at least rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing. Rhetoric likewise became more essential for those citizens wishing to hone their public speaking skills for the *ekklesia* or lawcourts, although it remains unclear to what extent training in rhetoric was available during the fifth century.⁸ The sophists, who seem to have

begun teaching in Athens around the mid-fifth century, found willing pupils for the newer branches of learning in the sons of the rich; Sokrates, for example, reportedly described philosophy as “the most important *mousike*.”⁹ The chiefly aristocratic ideals of education in *mousike*, although not completely obsolete, were increasingly downplayed. This trend was further augmented by the growing political power of the *demos* as opposed to the “old guard” of aristocratic families, especially after the death of Perikles in 429 B.C. The newer strain of democratic politicians did not necessarily have a background in the *archaia paideia*.¹⁰

Texts of the late fifth and fourth centuries give insight into contemporary ideas about education and suggest that the new developments were not without controversy. Plato and Aristotle advocate reform in their philosophical dialogues, with both of them promoting a continued significant role for *mousike*. The very satirical, often very conservative Aristophanes frequently uses comedy to make biting comments on the state of education and its effects on Athenian culture and politics. The plot of the *Clouds*, produced in 423 B.C. for the City Dionysia, revolves around the tension between the “old learning” and the “new learning,” culminating in a spirited *agon* between the Just and Unjust Arguments. The Just Argument [*Dikaïos Logos*] nostalgically describes the education of “the old days . . . when moderation was in fashion” (966–72):

Next, he [the *kitharistes*] taught them to sing a song without knotting their legs together – something like “Pallas the terrible sacker of cities” or “The cry that rings out afar” – stretching out the melody which their fathers had handed down. And if any of them fooled around with the tune or twisted any twirls – the sort of knotted-up twists we get nowadays from Phrynis – he was soundly beaten for obliterating the true Muses.¹¹

Aristophanes’ criticisms in the last decades of the fifth century refer to the type of education that a youth would formerly receive – learning to sing epic and lyric songs to musical accompaniment – while also satirizing changes in musical composition. The “fooling around with the tune” and “twisting any twirls” allude to experiments with the *harmoniai* and modes of music that were being instigated by professional musicians at this time.

The potential significance of visual imagery, as well as texts, in documenting the spread of literacy in fifth-century Athens has long been recognized, although specific interpretations of this evidence have varied. But we can also use images as a means to explore educational attitudes toward the discipline of *mousike*. Although references to the ideal of being *mousikos* had appeared earlier in Archaic iconography, the early fifth century witnesses a dramatic expansion of this theme on a number of levels. The plethora of images referring either directly or indirectly to the benefits of education in *mousike* demonstrate a concern for the discipline at this time. These

scenes advertise training in *mousike* for the good of the city and democracy, no matter how grounded they essentially are in aristocratic ideals. It is understood by the viewer that *mousike* affords the types of virtues most beneficial to oneself and the *polis*, including *sophrosyne* and *harmonia*. Yet the iconography does begin to change around mid-century, with less focus on “amateur” musical education and performance, and more emphasis on “professional” musical accomplishments. The educational controversies hinted at in the texts seem to be confirmed in the visual imagery. Indeed, the term *mousikos* itself in literary sources increasingly describes theorists and musical professionals, rather than citizen amateurs, as time progresses.¹²

THE ART OF THE MUSES

A white-ground Early Classical pyxis in Boston, the name vase of the Hesiod Painter (Fig. 27), depicts a remarkable scene of epiphany: A cowherd, quietly overseeing his animals, finds himself in the midst of the Muses.¹³ Two of the goddesses have phorminxes, one is seated with a chelys lyre, another seated Muse plays aulos, one has a fillet, and one holds not only a syrinx but also a phiale, a cult object pointing up the solemn and almost sacred nature of the occasion. None of the figures on the pyxis have inscriptions confirming their identities, but the outdoor setting, the number of female characters, and the array of instruments leave no doubt that the women are Muses. The identity of the poet remains contested; although he was originally named as Hesiod in the scholarship (leading in turn to the designation of the painter), the discovery of a fragmentary text by Archilochos of Paros recounting a visit from the Muses similar to that discussed in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (22–35) has reopened the question.¹⁴

On the one hand, the pyxis presents the viewer with an image familiar from texts: the Muses as forces of inspiration, capable of bestowing sweet words on a poet and endowing him with god-given talent. What is striking, however, is that although this aspect of the Muses had been proclaimed in poetry for centuries by this point – with the *Theogony* being perhaps the most well-known instance – it had not been visualized in art. The Hesiod Painter’s pyxis, together with other fifth-century representations of the Muses, presents a completely new iconographic conceptualization of the goddesses specifically as musical virtuosi; on the pyxis they appear with a virtual panoply of instruments ranging from the pastoral syrinx to the chelys lyre, the quintessential instrument of *mousike*. In Classical Athenian art the Muses iconographically come into their own in a variety of dramatic ways, assuming a new range of roles and at last attaining a definitive visual identity.¹⁵

Previously, on sixth-century vases, the Muses were rarely given musical attributes or identified by inscriptions, so that it is often difficult to recognize them. There are

two notable exceptions: On a black-figure dinos by Sophilos in the British Museum, the earliest attested depiction of Muses in Greek art, two groups of female figures in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis are labeled *Mosai*.¹⁶ One group of three walks alongside a chariot driven by Hermes and also containing Apollo, playing his kithara; although none of the Muses here has an instrument, their visual association with Apollo definitely links them with music. The second group of five Muses stands with the chariot featuring Ares and Aphrodite. Sophilos presents this group in an innovative way: A central figure with frontal face plays the syrinx, flanked by two pairs of Muses facing toward her. It is interesting to speculate why Muses accompany Ares and Aphrodite; perhaps there is a subtle connection with the theme of *harmonia*, since Harmonia was the couple's daughter.

The wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis found on the François Vase of Kleitias and Ergotimos similarly includes figures of Muses.¹⁷ In contrast to the dinos by Sophilos, on this vase the inscriptions give them individual names. Kalliope and Urania accompany the chariot of Zeus and Hera; Melpomene, Klio, Euterpe, and Thalia walk beside the chariot of Poseidon and Amphitrite; and Stesichore, Erato, and Polyhymnis (Polyhymnia) accompany the chariot of Ares and Aphrodite.¹⁸ Kalliope, with frontal face, plays the syrinx, recalling the Muse on Sophilos' dinos. On both vases, the inclusion of the Muses heightens the mood of celebration, comparable with texts that also feature them at mythological weddings. Later on, for example, Pindar's *Third Pythian Ode* (3.86–92) mentions the presence of Muses at the weddings of Kadmos and Harmonia and Peleus and Thetis. They do not, however, play a particularly active role on the vases, remaining on foot and more or less in the background. The syrinx recalls the association of the Muses with pastoral settings and their home, Mount Helikon, but is not the instrument of a true virtuoso.

Elsewhere on sixth-century vases, the Muses appear as generic female figures with their leader Apollo, often holding flowers, whereas the god holds a kithara or (less often) a chelys lyre. Only the presence of Apollo suggests their identification, for the Muses are not named by inscriptions; theoretically they could just as easily be nymphs or Delian maidens, given the lack of confirmation.¹⁹ Sometimes these women hold krotala, and in at least one case an aulos, but in general their musical abilities take a backseat to those of the god.²⁰

This situation changes rapidly, so that in the fifth century musical attributes become a necessity for the Muses. The simple krotala are abandoned, and the syrinxes are a rarity (save on the Hesiod Painter's pyxis); now the painters represent the Muses as skilled, well-trained musicians with chelys lyres, phorminxes, auloi, barbitoi, and harps. Whereas inscriptions in sixth-century scenes of the Muses are limited to the Sophilos dinos and François Vase, they become more frequent in fifth-century depictions, further granting the goddesses more individualized personalities.²¹ Finally, the range of scenes expands; while the Muses still appear with Apollo as *Mousagetes*

[leader of the Muses], they are also found with poets, as on the Hesiod Painter's pyxis; in educational contexts; and on their own in friendly, intimate gatherings. They serve as champions and judges in mythological musical contests, namely those of Thamyras and Marsyas, discussed in the following chapter. All of these scenes in different ways extol the benefits of *mousike*, providing a model of education, refinement, and *sophrosyne* for viewers. One can surely see in this development a reflection of Athens' growing prominence on the musical scene – compare the boasts in Euripides' *Medea* (808–14) and *Rhesos* (941–2) – as well as a persistent interest in *mousike* itself as a cultural and educational force.

Scenes of the Muses with Apollo *Mousagetes* continue to be the most numerous, including images of the deities in concert together as well as scenes of libation.²² Apollo takes center stage on a calyx krater by the Villa Giulia Painter, tuning his lyre while seated on a rock (Fig. 31); he is flanked by two standing Muses, one with a chelys lyre and the other with auloi.²³ This scene, along with many others of this kind (compare Fig. 25), exemplifies the shift in the role of the Muses from silent onlookers to active music-makers in their own right, equal in status and talent. Sometimes a Muse holds out a chelys lyre to Apollo, or vice versa, confirming their close musical relationship.²⁴ A few scenes illustrate the rewards of virtue and good performance by featuring a Muse holding or creating a laurel crown in Apollo's presence; a bell krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy shows such a Muse with nearly frontal face and holding an aulos case, while another Muse holds a chelys lyre and Apollo a laurel staff.²⁵

Scenes of Apollo and the Muses have many underlying meanings. In compositional terms, they are harmonious and gracefully ordered, reflecting the characterization of Apollo and the Muses in texts. In the *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* (182–206), the music and singing initiated by Apollo and the Muses act as an ordering force on Mount Olympos, inspiring other gods and goddesses to enact a choral dance.²⁶ References to education in *mousike* may also be present. Although there are a few exceptions, in the majority of images depicting Apollo and the Muses the instruments shown are the chelys lyre and the aulos, which in the fifth century served as the primary instruments of musical education. This actually represents a significant change from the sixth century, when Apollo typically played the kithara, a professional instrument. Occasionally a Muse may hold a book roll or writing tablet, which may reflect the rise of *grammatike* as an educational discipline as well.²⁷ The ideal duality of *mousike* and *gymnastike* in education may be suggested by the Villa Giulia Painter's krater (Fig. 31); the three figures of Apollo and the Muses on the obverse are mirrored by a trainer and two youths practicing the long jump on the reverse. One is further reminded of Plato's *Laws* from the following century: In a lengthy discussion, the Athenian Stranger proclaims *choreia* (by which he means song and dance) to be a gift of Apollo and the Muses, as well as a means for young

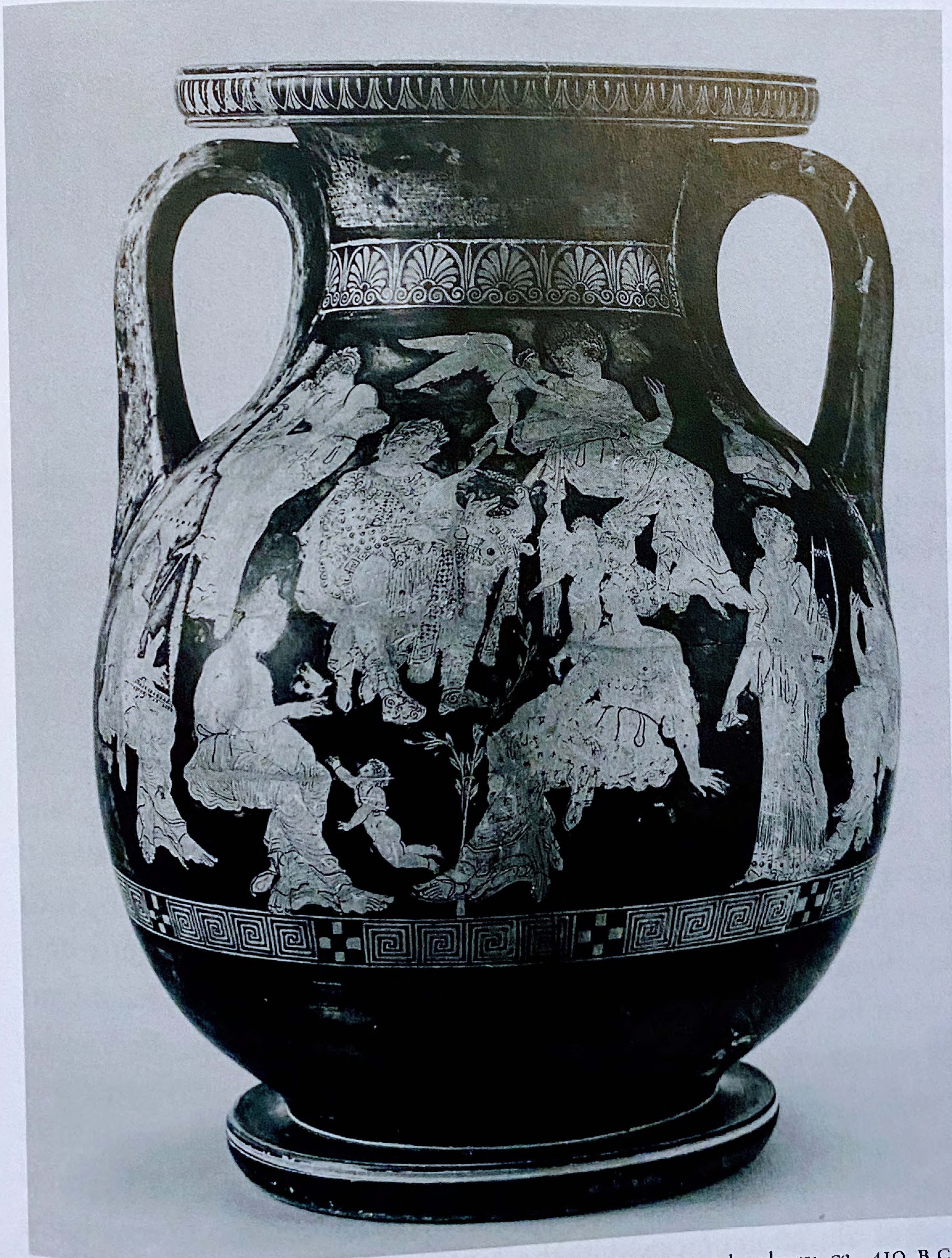


31. Calyx krater by the Villa Giulia Painter with Apollo and Muses; ca. 460–450 B.C. Staatliches Museum Schwerin (KG 706). Photo: Museum.

people to attain the virtues of *sophrosyne*, rhythm, and harmony. These qualities instilled in the youth, he concludes, are ultimately beneficial to the city.²⁸ It is not difficult to imagine these beliefs already in existence in fifth-century Athens and reflected in the popularity of images of Apollo and the Muses.

On some vases the Muses appear with a “new” mythological character: Mousaios, a musician and poet who seems to have been an Athenian creation.²⁹ Indeed, his appearance in both art and texts in the fifth century likely reflects a desire to establish a uniquely Athenian mythological musical heritage. He becomes the prototypical ideal student of *mousike*. One of the earliest attested literary mentions of Mousaios appears in Euripides’ *Rhesos* (946–7), in which the character of the Muse makes this claim: “It was we the sisters who with Phoebus educated Musaeus, your great and respected citizen, so he surpassed our other pupils.”³⁰ Much later, Pausanias (10.12.11) reaffirms the Athenian lineage of Mousaios and elsewhere

mentions a painting of the poet in the Pinakothekē on the Athenian Akropolis (I.22.7), although he does not give enough information to allow this lost work to be dated. An Athenian connection is likewise maintained in the tradition that Mousaios married the Eleusinian priestess Deiope – the relationship between Eleusis and Athens being particularly strong – with their son named Eumolpos (Paus. I.14.1). A late fifth-century pelike by the Meidias Painter depicts Mousaios together with his family for the first time amid a gathering of Muses and other figures such as Aphrodite, Eros, and Harmonia (Fig. 32).³¹ In contrast to other fifth-century images of Mousaios, he wears Thracian clothes on the Meidian pelike. Although an

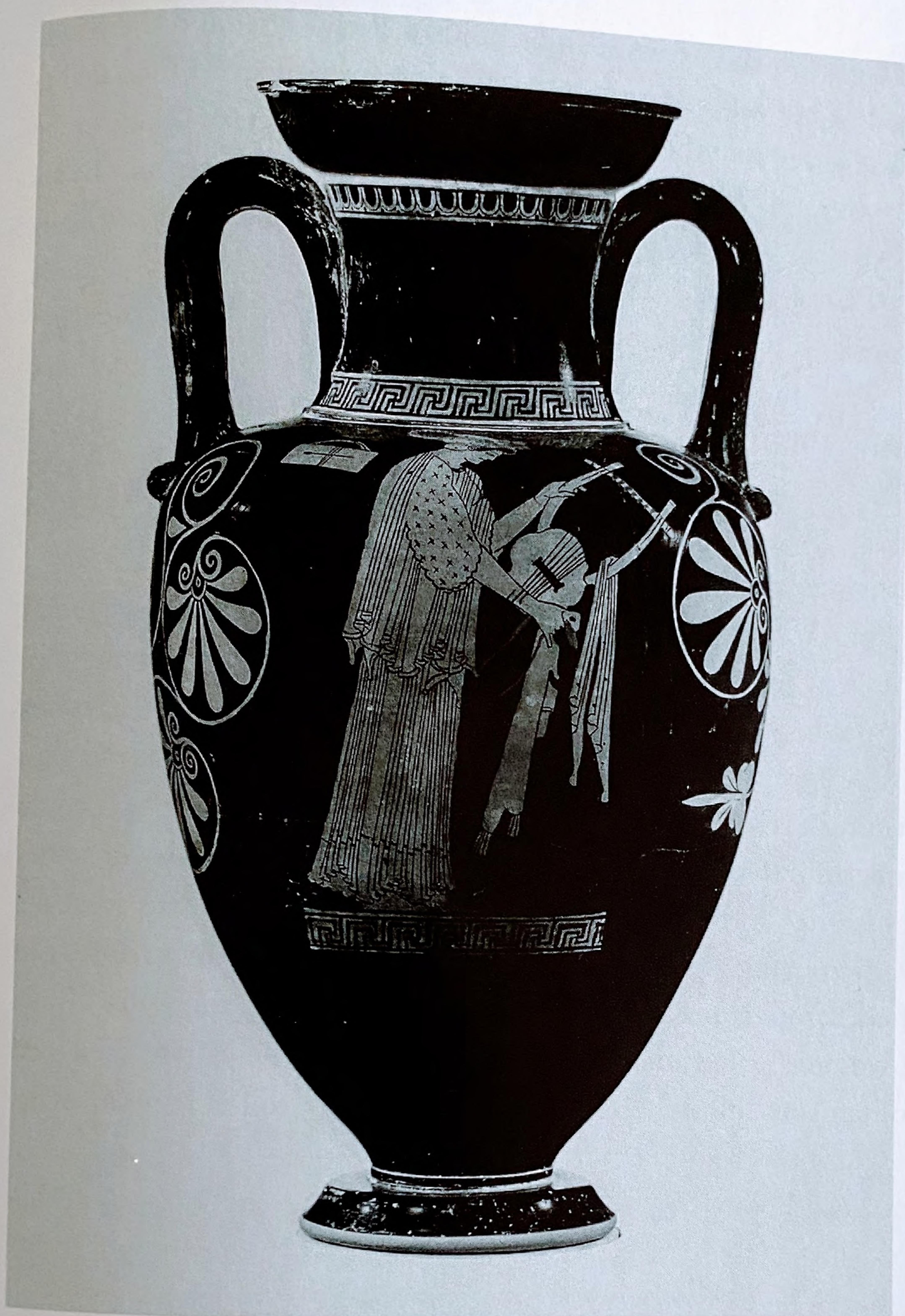


32. Pelike by the Meidias Painter with Mousaios, Muses, and others; ca. 410 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1937 (37.11.23). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

alternative later tradition holds that Mousaios was Thracian, perhaps even the son of Orpheus, it is not clear whether the Meidias Painter intended for him to be ethnically Thracian or simply an Athenian in sumptuously exotic garb.³²

Mousaios' first surviving representation in Greek art is on an Early Classical hydria by the Villa Giulia Painter, where the poet (identified by inscription) appears among seven Muses.³³ The scene evokes an ideal education in *mousike*: playing the aulos, playing the chelys lyre, and reciting or singing poetry. Mousaios sits on a rock tuning a chelys lyre, in a pose reminiscent of Apollo.³⁴ Four of the seven Muses hold lyres, one plays an aulos, and one stands with a writing tablet and stylus. The latter suggests an increasing emphasis on literacy in fifth-century education, although here *grammatike* is firmly integrated with *mousike*. An amphora by the Peleus Painter in London (Fig. 18) presents a more intimate scene of Mousaios with two Muses.³⁵ Standing at right with a chelys lyre and laurel staff, Mousaios could be easily mistaken for Apollo were it not for the inscription. In the center of the scene sits Terpsichore (name inscribed), playing an angle harp with her face inclined in three-quarter view, suggesting absorption into the music. At left a Muse named Melousa holds a pair of auloi, touching the tip of one reed as if to soften it before playing.³⁶ A phorminx is suspended in the center field above Terpsichore. The theme of *mousike* and poetic inspiration continues on two cups by the Kalliope Painter dating from circa 430 B.C., which again juxtapose Mousaios and the Muses.³⁷

The concept of the Muses as semiallegorical patronesses of education may likewise be conveyed on two vases depicting the infant Dionysos: an amphora attributed to the Eucharides Painter (Fig. 33)³⁸ and a white-ground calyx krater by the Phiale Painter (Fig. 34).³⁹ On the obverse of the Eucharides Painter's amphora, a male figure, probably Zeus, strides to right carrying the swaddled Dionysos, who wears a tiny ivy wreath on his head. If this image accords with the conventional myth, then Zeus is taking Dionysos to Nysa, where he will be educated by nymphs.⁴⁰ A small group of vases from the early fifth century gives Zeus this role, whereas later examples (like the Phiale Painter's krater) feature Hermes as the baby's caretaker.⁴¹ However, whereas other vases in this group depict the nymphs, identified by such attributes as a leopard or thyrsos, the female figure on this amphora's reverse does not fit that paradigm. Dressed in fine garments, she holds a chelys lyre and aulos case [*sybene*] in her outstretched hands, with writing tablets suspended in the field. Although some have identified this woman as a nymph, others have proposed she is a Muse, based on the prominence of musical instruments.⁴² A recent article went further to theorize that the Muse here is literally Dionysos' teacher, in a possible alternative version of the story; its author also made a connection with the sequential stages of education proposed by the Athenian Stranger in Plato's *Laws*.⁴³ While the figure is most likely a Muse, she is probably not Dionysos' teacher *per se*; moreover, we have no evidence that the educational sequence propounded in the



33. Amphora by the Eucharides Painter with female figure, possibly a Muse; ca. 490–480 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by Mr. Gregory Callimanopulos (L.1982.27.8). Photo: Museum.

Laws was followed in the fifth century. The Muse may, however, serve as a pseudopersonification of education in an abstract way.⁴⁴

We can compare the calyx krater by the Phiale Painter (Fig. 34), which on its obverse presents a different version of the Dionysos story: Hermes brings the baby and delivers him to the nymphs of Nysa and Papposilenos, seated on a rock. Many have compared this new iconography to a now-lost play by Sophokles, the *Dionysiskos*.⁴⁵ This connection, if true, still does not explain fully the three figures on the krater's reverse, who can be identified as Muses based on their musical instruments and the rocky landscape evocative of Mount Helikon. The central,

seated Muse plays a barbitos, the Muse at right holds a chelys lyre, and the Muse at left stands wrapped in her himation observing the performance.⁴⁶ Once again, although it has been suggested that these Muses will be actual teachers of Dionysos, it is more likely that they symbolize the ideal education in *mousike*.⁴⁷ There may be an additional subtext here: One of the purposes of an education in *mousike* was to train young men to sing and perform at the symposion – the realm of Dionysos.⁴⁸ This kind of thematic connection is admittedly loose, but given the general preoccupation with education and its role in fifth-century Athens – a preoccupation that may have inspired the popularity of scenes of the infant Dionysos in the first place – it is not inappropriate. Indeed, two other Classical vases showing the delivery of Dionysos to Nysa on their obverses depict mortal athletes and trainers on their reverses, evoking the *gymnastike* of Athenian education.⁴⁹

The Phiale Painter's krater brings us to another type of scene of Muses found in the fifth century, in which the goddesses appear in small musical gatherings unaccompanied by Apollo, Mousaios, or any other male figures. This too represents a departure from sixth-century precedents, in which Muses were always found with a male character acting as a *choregos* [chorus leader]. The new interest in the "private lives" of Muses blends an interest in *mousike* with an increased popularity of scenes of women; in fact, it is often difficult to discern whether female musicians are really Muses or mortal women being visually compared to Muses. Sometimes Muses can be securely identified through inscriptions, as on a lekythos by the Villa Giulia Painter, where the woman seated on a *klismos* and tuning a chelys lyre is named Kalliope.⁵⁰ The woman standing in front of her with a book roll is Mnesmosyne, mother of the Muses and the goddess associated with memory.

A white-ground lekythos by the Achilles Painter in Munich (Fig. 14) probably also depicts two Muses.⁵¹ Here, a woman sits on a rock playing the phorminx while another watches. The fact that this vase is a white-ground lekythos, meant for a funerary context, has led some to identify one or both women as mortals (either alive or deceased), possibly assimilated to Muses.⁵² The rocky landscape and the inscription naming Mount Helikon, however, speak against such identifications and in favor of two Muses.⁵³ The original provenance is unknown, but perhaps the vase was intended for a woman's grave, in which case Muses would serve as a favorable comment on the deceased's *sophrosyne* and perhaps education. It is also possible that the intended recipient–deceased was male, with the message of education and accomplishment in *mousike* being equally appropriate.⁵⁴ We may recall the association of the Muses with the singing and remembrance of great deeds, likewise significant for a funerary vessel.⁵⁵

Scenes of Muses undergo a gradual transformation by the end of the fifth century. The Meidian pelike mentioned previously (Fig. 32) not only marks a change in the image of Mousaios but in that of the Muses too, placing the goddesses into the



34. White-ground calyx krater by the Phiale Painter, with three Muses; ca. 440–430 B.C. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (I6586). Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

sphere of Aphrodite. This is not an altogether superfluous choice, since, as we have seen, Muses began their iconographic life in sixth-century scenes of mythological weddings. Mortal brides, Eros, and the Muses increasingly meld in late fifth-century nuptial imagery. The Meidias Painter includes four Muses, named by inscriptions: Kalliope has no musical instrument, Melpomene plays a harp, Terpsichore holds a chelys lyre, and Erato has a tympanon, the only attested Muse in fifth-century imagery to do so. The mood is escapist and subtly erotic (Eros is here too), located in a sumptuous garden setting typical of the Meidian workshop. Here the music of the Muses is meant for love and desire, not education. With these and a few other scenes from the end of the fifth century, the Muses virtually vanish from Athenian

vase painting, appearing in the fourth century almost exclusively in scenes of Apollo and Marsyas, if at all.

BECOMING AN *ANER MOUSIKOS*

In the *Laws*, Plato uses the phrase *aner mousikos* – literally, musical man – to describe the educated ideal for an Athenian citizen at the time of his youth. Scenes of the Muses are but one manifestation of the fifth-century emphasis on *mousike* and education; many other images of young men, both mortal and mythological, express the ideal of the *aner mousikos*. Representations of youths and boys at school receiving training in *mousike* first appear in Athenian iconography at the end of the sixth century, coinciding with the rise of the democracy and possibly the advent of schools in the city.⁵⁶ Although it is not always easy to distinguish between scenes of actual instruction and images that show informal leisure gatherings, the presence of *paidagogoi* with their sticks, as well as schoolroom objects such as writing tablets and musical instruments, help identify a school setting. Largely confined to the first half of the fifth century, these scenes are typically found on vases associated with the symposion: mostly cups, but also kraters, amphorae, and other such vessels. This is not surprising, for through musical instruction a well-bred Athenian was able to recite poetry, sing, and play instruments at the symposion or komos, truly promoting himself as an *aner mousikos*. Education remained primarily the privilege of the elite, at least for much of the fifth century, and this distinction directly affects the character of the imagery.

A hydria by Phintias, dating from the very end of the sixth century, ranks among the earliest of these school images (Fig. 35) and sets the tone for their interpretation.⁵⁷ The primary scene on the body of the vessel shows a quiet and harmonious occasion of instruction: The teacher of *mousike* sits at right, playing the chelys lyre as the eyes of the other three figures are fixed on him. He has two pupils, a standing youth wrapped in a himation who observes (and maybe sings?) and a seated youth who plays a chelys lyre. The virtually mirror-image poses of teacher and student express the imitative nature of instruction.⁵⁸ At left a bearded man leans on his staff and listens to the music; he may be a *paidagogos*, a servant or slave responsible for minding a child and seeing him safely to school.

In contrast to most school scenes, all the figures here are named. The teacher is Smikythos, the younger boy Tlempolemos, the listener Demetrios, and the lyre-playing student Euthymides. Understandably, many have seen in the latter a “portrait” of the vase painter Euthymides, placed here by a fellow Pioneer. It is difficult to imagine, however, that Euthymides and the other vase painters would have had access to such an education; even if they did have some training in *grammatike* for



35. Hydria by Phintias with instruction in lyre playing; ca. 510–500 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (2421). Photo: Museum.

the purpose of writing inscriptions, *mousike* was certainly associated with the elite. Is this an optimistic hope for the future, in the young days of *isonomia*?⁵⁹ A subversive attempt to appropriate elite imagery? Or simply a playful in-joke, intended to elicit a chuckle from Kerameikos colleagues?⁶⁰ The possibility of the latter is further suggested by the scene on the shoulder, where a pair of saucy, bare-breasted hetairai recline, hold skyphoi, and play *kottabos* at a symposion.⁶¹ In the game of *kottabos*, the goal was to fling the dregs of wine from one's cup at a designated target, often dedicating the toss to someone present; here one of the hetairai calls out Euthymides' name. She even describes him as *kalos*, that particular honorable epithet of the upper-crust "beautiful people," the *kaloskagathoi*. The combination of the two scenes suggests the positive benefits of elite social status and education in *mousike*, that one would then be able to participate in symposia and enjoy the company of flirtatious women.

The most well-known and frequently reproduced vase with school scenes is a cup by Douris (Figs. 1 and 2), which extols education in *mousike* while representing all of its major components: instruction in the lyre, recitation of poetry, and singing to the aulos.⁶² The lessons are in full swing on the exterior; at left, a teacher [*kitharistes*] and student sit together on stools holding chelys lyres, with another chelys lyre

suspended above them. A recitation lesson takes place at right, with a teacher sitting on a *klismos* and holding an open scroll on which can be read the poetic lines "Muse to me – I begin to sing of wide-flowing Skamander."⁶³ A young boy wrapped in a himation stands before the teacher, presumably singing or reciting. A chelys lyre and aulos case hanging above express the importance of both instruments in early fifth-century education. The elite status of the students is attested by the *paidagogos* sitting at far right watching the lesson, recognizable by his cane.⁶⁴ Two drinking cups appear in the field, probably referring to symposia, the occasions at which these boys will someday be expected to display their training.⁶⁵

The other side of Douris' cup likewise depicts instruction in *mousike*. At the left, a seated teacher plays the aulos as a young boy standing before him sings in accompaniment. As with the presence of the *sybene* on the opposite side, this vignette clearly demonstrates the inclusion of the aulos in contemporary education. Another seated teacher writes on a tablet in the center, perhaps providing a writing or reading lesson to the young boy standing before him; a pair of writing tablets, together with a chelys lyre, are suspended above. As before, a *paidagogos* sits at right watching his charges. The *kalos* inscription above the scene on both sides (*Hippodamos kalos*) juxtaposes the desirability and beauty of Hippodamos – presumably one of the stylish young Athenians of the day – with the educational accomplishments of the pictured youths.⁶⁶

Whereas both exterior scenes concentrate on *mousike*, the tondo of Douris' cup alludes to the gymnastic component of education, with a young athlete removing his sandals near a *louterion*, or basin. In combining references to both *mousike* and *gymnastike*, the vase exemplifies the ideal, all-round education and recalls the complementary goals of both types of training: *gymnastike* strengthened the body, but together with *mousike* also strengthened the soul. These ideals were expressed in Plato's *Protagoras* (326a–c), while in the *Republic*, Sokrates states (412a), "the man who can best blend *gymnastike* with *mousike* and administer them, perfectly measured, to the soul, is the one whom we should most correctly call the complete musician and the true expert in harmony, much more than the man who can tune strings to one another."⁶⁷ One can compare the juxtaposition of *mousike* and *gymnastike* on Douris' cup with an Early Classical skyphos by the Lewis Painter, where a trainer with a strigil greets a young man with a chelys lyre.⁶⁸ So too on the interior of a cup by the Dokimasia Painter, a young man wearing a himation holds a chelys lyre while a group of palaistra objects – a sponge, strigil, and aryballos – hangs in the field beside him.⁶⁹

The meticulous detail and apparent realism of Douris' cup have led many to take it as evidence for specific educational practices. However, although Douris surely draws on observation and experience, he does not provide photographic documentation of a typical day at school. It is problematic, for example, to use

the cup to argue that Athenian boys learned music and writing simultaneously as part of a standard curriculum (as some have) or to suggest that young Athenians learned these subjects at a particular age.⁷⁰ It would be equally misleading to assume that these types of lessons were characteristic for a large segment of the population. At best we can say that Douris' cup and other contemporary school scenes do emphasize education in *mousike* among the upper classes in the early fifth century and that the timing of these scenes suggests a link with the rise of democracy.⁷¹ The inclusion of writing tablets and a book roll on the cup attests to the growth of literacy in contemporary Athens, although here again this development begins among the elite and is not widespread at this period. These scenes, along with others depicting book rolls in similar circumstances, further suggest that the new literacy was put to good use among upper-class youths for an old-fashioned education in *mousike*, to aid learning and recitation of classic poetic texts.⁷²

The possible outcomes of instruction in *mousike* are presented on a cup by the Splanchnopt Painter, an artist who seems to have had a special interest in the education of youths as a subject.⁷³ The tondo presents a quiet image of two boys enjoying the fruits of their education: One plays the aulos while his friend, wrapped in his himation, stands before him listening or perhaps preparing to sing. On one exterior side a seated instructor plays the aulos to accompany a young boy's song as *paidagogoi* and youths mill about. The other exterior side features Nike crowning a youth, while another awaits punishment by a *paidagogos*, perhaps for failing in his lessons.

A cup by Douris in the Getty Museum (Fig. 36) presents the theme of music as related to the *sunousia* [association] between older men and youths that formed a hallmark of upper-class Athenian society.⁷⁴ Having social, educational, and erotic components, these relationships were expected to help a young Athenian achieve *arete*, or excellence, teach him the ways of the world, and complement the education he received elsewhere.⁷⁵ The scene in the tondo, with an older bearded man and a young boy holding a chelys lyre, may show a music lesson or else courtship. The exterior scenes represent conversation and courtship, as shown by the inclusion of hares as love gifts. Two chelys lyres are suspended in the field on each side above the heads of the seated youths, suggesting their age while advertising they are of elite status, well educated, and thus erotically desirable. More abbreviated scenes that depict older men giving a chelys lyre to a youth or boy may similarly allude to courtship, *sunousia*, and the educational relationship between an *erastes* [older lover] and his *eromenos* [younger object of affection].⁷⁶ In many cases, however, it is difficult to distinguish between an *erastes* and a *paidagogos*. It is significant that scenes of courtship like the one on Douris' cup gradually fade from the repertoire of Athenian vase painters after the Persian Wars; it has been convincingly suggested that this circumstance "could well reflect a change in popular sensibility which made



36. Cup by Douris with scenes of courtship; ca. 480 B.C. Malibu, CA, The J. Paul Getty Museum (86.AE.290). Photo: © The J. Paul Getty Museum.

depictions of this upper-class activity less acceptable in an essentially popular art form.”⁷⁷

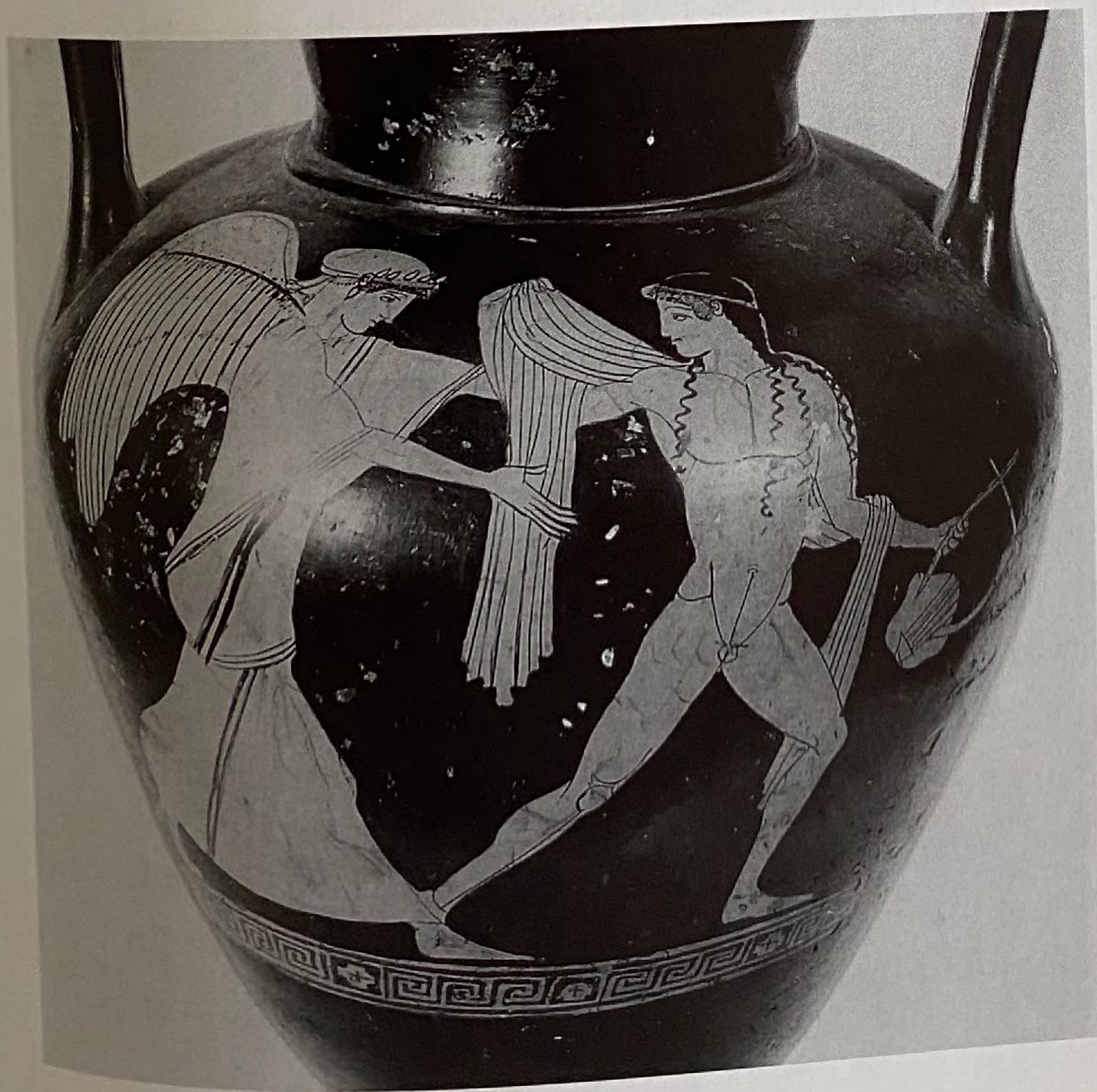
We can compare the presence of music in other contemporary scenes with an erotic bent. In many scenes of the goddess Eos pursuing a youth (Fig. 37), the young beloved has a *chelys* lyre, which here as in scenes of mortal courtship denotes age, education, social status, and desirability.⁷⁸ The identity of the youth in question is not always clear, although the majority of scholars identify the lyre-carrying schoolboy as Tithonos (based on some scenes with inscriptions).⁷⁹ It is possible that these scenes do not depict one specific character, but rather suggest several different persons simultaneously. While the boy’s lyre shows that Eos has interrupted him in the midst of his daily activities, it also denotes him as the ideal *ephebe*, worthy of a goddess’ attention (even if that attention results in a sad end).

Eros himself sometimes pursues a youth carrying a *chelys* lyre; in such cases, the god can be understood not only as a narrative character but also as the personification of an abstract concept. On an unusual white-ground object sometimes identified as a “bobbin,” the muscular figure of Eros grasps a youth holding a lyre, who looks back at his pursuer with a rather ardent gaze.⁸⁰ Because the reverse shows

Nike crowning a youth, it has been suggested that these are a victorious singer and musician from a dithyrambic chorus competition.⁸¹ Perhaps the object itself was a votive version of an *iynx*, or love charm, dedicated by a penitent in hopes of securing his (or her) object of desire.⁸² Encounters with Eros are not always so benign in character: Eros waylays a youth holding a lyre en route to school on an amphora by the Flying Angel Painter, the figure of a *paidagogos* on the opposite side confirming the setting.⁸³ Whip in hand signifying his formidable powers, Eros seizes the youth by the shoulder as he sprints away.⁸⁴

Eros himself can appear with musical instruments – including chelys lyres, barbitoi, and auloi – again suggesting the ideal qualities of the *ephebe*. Using the visual metaphor of Eros, a Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Berlin Painter in Naples expresses the ideals and activities of a young Athenian.⁸⁵ The splendidly nude god drifts across the surface of the vase, his graceful body displayed to the viewer. He holds a chelys lyre and an aulos case, signifying the two principal instruments of musical education. A small hare on the ground recalls love gifts presented to young *eromenoi* by admiring *erastai*. Other depictions of Eros with a musical instrument are more whimsical, as for example a lekythos showing him astride a dolphin and playing an aulos, and another where he plays a salpinx, musical instrument of war.⁸⁶

Chelys lyres and musical instruments can denote education and social status in other contexts besides erotic encounters. In some scenes of the Judgment of Paris, the young Trojan prince holds or plays a chelys lyre as he is approached by Hermes and/or the goddesses Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite.⁸⁷ While this attribute



37. Amphora attributed to the Group of Naples 3169 with Eos pursuing Tithonos; ca. 470–460 B.C. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (81541/H 3169). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 85.852, Schwanke).

corresponds with the Homeric description of Paris as an excellent musician (e.g. *Iliad* 3.54), the lyre also marks Paris as aristocratic and educated, distinguishing him from an ordinary herdsman playing a syrinx. Paris had been seen with a lyre in some sixth-century scenes of the Judgment, but the survival of this detail into the fifth century surely underscores contemporary interest in musical education.⁸⁸ A subtle but significant change further implies this connection: Whereas Paris had been bearded (and thus older) in black-figure scenes, he is beardless and youthful in the red-figure examples. Most of the red-figure scenes date from the first half of the fifth century and are therefore contemporary with other images that emphasize the importance of being *mousikos*.

A hydria by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe in London (Fig. 38) depicts a characteristic version of the story: Paris is seated in a rocky landscape, a sheep by his side.⁸⁹ He has clearly been interrupted in the midst of playing his lyre, for his left hand still touches the strings and he holds the plektron in midair with his right. The three goddesses approach from the left: Hera with her scepter and holding the apple, Athena recognizable by her armor, and Aphrodite wrapped in a himation. A cup by Makron in Berlin features a similar scene, but with the addition of Hermes presenting the contestants; in this case, Aphrodite is surrounded by four Erotes, leaving the viewer in no doubt as to the winner.⁹⁰ Paris and Hermes appear alone in an abbreviated version on the obverse of an amphora by the Sabouroff Painter: Bare-chested, beardless, and clad only in a himation, Paris resembles a sophisticated Athenian youth with his lyre.⁹¹ In a few instances Paris flees from Hermes, sometimes even holding his lyre over his head in a gesture of defense that recalls images of Linos, Orpheus, or Tithonos.⁹² In one of the latest Judgment scenes showing Paris with a lyre, he appears enthroned in a stately building, holding a scepter as well as a musical instrument.⁹³

The theme of *mousike* reaches beyond scenes of life activities and mythological characters to scenes associated with the dead, as featured on white-ground funerary lekythoi of the High Classical period.⁹⁴ Slightly fewer than forty images on white-ground lekythoi include musical instruments that serve as the attributes of deceased youths or else are brought to a tomb by mourners. Strikingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, the instruments shown are nearly all chelys lyres, the quintessential instruments of *paideia* and *mousike*.⁹⁵ On the one hand, the lyres refer to the pastimes of the dead in the underworld, a theory espoused by Ernst Buschor and Max Wegner earlier in the twentieth century. Both Buschor and Wegner suggested that the deceased played music in Hades as a way to console himself in his solitude. This idea is supported by a Pindaric *threnos* that describes the activities of the dead: "And some take delight in horses and exercises, others in draughts, and others in lyres [lit. phorminxes]; and among them complete happiness blooms and flourishes."⁹⁶



38. Hydria by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe with Judgment of Paris; ca. 470 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 178). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

As the *threnos* fragment indicates, however, we need not consider music as a form of consolation per se but “as a symbol of the pleasantness of Elysium and of the absence of worldly concerns.”⁹⁷

At the same time, the chelys lyres reflect the activities of the dead person in life, proclaiming his social status and denoting him an *aner mousikos*.⁹⁸ In many ways, funerary scenes on white-ground lekythoi serve as visual epigrams, memorializing the *sophrosyne* and *arete* of the dead person; compare scenes, for example, that depict the deceased as a warrior. A deceased Athenian is eloquently characterized as well born and well educated on a lekythos near the Thanatos Painter (Fig. 39).⁹⁹ An elaborately decorated sarcophagus forms the central focus of the composition: two akroteria in the form of young athletes adorn the corners, while the pediment shows four figures in a palaistra scene, two seated and two boxing. To the left of the tomb, an older, bearded man pays homage, genuflecting slightly on approaching. At right stands a youth wrapped in a himation, surely the deceased. Suspended in the field around the tomb are a large diskos and chelys lyre, objects that seem incongruous but



39. White-ground lekythos near the Thanatos Painter with father mourning at son's tomb; ca. 450–440 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund (01.8080). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

actually serve as attributes for the youth, recalling the dual nature of *paideia*: musical as well as athletic education. So too on an unattributed white-ground lekythos in London, the grave monument is decorated with offerings that suggest the range of interests for a well-bred young man: a chelys lyre, krater (recalling the symposion), wreath (likely indicating either the symposion or athletics), and an assortment of lekythoi and oinochoai.¹⁰⁰ Here a young man standing with a second chelys lyre to the left of the monument may be the deceased, and a man with staff to right a mourner. Another unattributed lekythos in Oxford presents an unusual scene in which a woman carries a male infant beside the tomb, with a chelys lyre suspended above the child's head; the lyre here surely signifies the unfulfilled potential of the deceased baby.¹⁰¹

In several instances, a young man sits either beside or on the steps of a tomb, holding or playing a lyre.¹⁰² His seated position and apparent detachment identify him as the deceased, while mourners visit the grave. These scenes form part of a growing trend on white-ground lekythoi in the second half of the fifth century, with the living and the dead encountering one another in the cemetery.¹⁰³ On a lekythos by the Painter of Munich 2335, the deceased youth sits on a *klismos* to the left of a beribboned grave stele, looking at his phorminx as he tunes it.¹⁰⁴ A female mourner approaches from the right carrying a hare (possibly a symbol of love), but the youth

is unaware of her presence, concentrating instead on the instrument. On a later lekythos, attributed to a member of Group R, the deceased sits on the steps of the stele holding his lyre and gazing downward, oblivious to the mourners around the tomb.¹⁰⁵

The deceased is very aware of the visitors to his grave on a lekythos attributed to the Group of Berlin 2459 (Fig. 40).¹⁰⁶ His identity is not in doubt, for the artist has shown his *eidolon* [soul or spirit, personified as a winged figure] floating just to the left of the stele's anthemion. He sits on the steps of the tomb holding a lyre, but looks up from his instrument to the figure at right: an *ephebe* wearing a traveling cloak and carrying a spear and small bird. The older man with a stick at the left of the stele could be the father of the deceased, but his pose also recalls the *paidagogoi* depicted in scenes of school or instruction. An unattributed lekythos in the Musée du Petit Palais shows even more intimate contact between the living and the dead. A young man in a himation standing beside a grave stele reaches out to clasp the



40. White-ground lekythos attributed to the Group of Berlin 2459 with deceased at tomb holding a lyre, visited by mourners; ca. 420–410 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre (MNB 1729). Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY (Chuzeville).

41. White-ground lekythos by the Inscription Painter with figures at a tomb; ca. 460 B.C. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds provided in memory of Dorothy M. Moseley (1986.79). Photo: Museum.



hand of an older man in a gesture of farewell known as the *dexiosis*.¹⁰⁷ The *dexiosis* unquestionably marks the youth as the deceased rather than as a mourner bringing an offering. Suspended in the field behind him is a chelys lyre, its position and proximity establishing the instrument as an attribute.

Some funerary scenes are more ambiguous, making it difficult to distinguish between living and dead characters. A white-ground lekythos by the Inscription Painter illustrates the difficulties involved (Fig. 41).¹⁰⁸ A grave marker with pyramidal top stands in the center of the scene, with an ovoid tumulus behind. At the right, a woman approaches with offerings in her hands: a fruit (or cake) and a lekythos. She is obviously a mourner come to pay homage at the tomb, her lekythos echoing the function of the actual vessel. The identity of the young man at left is less clear; he leans on a staff while holding a chelys lyre in his outstretched hand. He could be another mourner, coming forward to place the lyre on the steps of the tomb as an offering, or he could be the dead person. There are not enough clues in this scene to confirm an identification. A similarly ambiguous scene appears on a white-ground lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter, where a young man standing with a lyre to the

left of a tomb may or may not be the deceased; the woman at right with a lekythos and phiale, however, is surely a mourner.¹⁰⁹

In an unusual scene, a chelys lyre is shown as an offering at the tomb, but no human figures are present.¹¹⁰ The artist provides a close-up view of the steps at the base of a stele, decked with garlands and strewn with offerings, including two alabastra, two lekythoi, and a chelys lyre. Although neither the deceased nor mourners are represented, the lyre alone identifies the tomb as a young man's. Through its role as an instrument of education, the lyre becomes a remembrance of the person's past and a sign of hope for his future in the life beyond.

THE LESSONS OF LINOS

In the first half of the fifth century, just as school scenes and other related images flourish in Athenian vase painting, a series of scenes recounts the story of Herakles and his music teacher, Linos. On one side of a skyphos by the Pistoxenos Painter (Fig. 42), Iphikles, the mortal half-brother of Herakles, receives instruction in the lyre from Linos, with the names of both figures inscribed.¹¹¹ Teacher and pupil face one another, instruments in hand, Linos perhaps demonstrating a composition as



42. Skyphos by the Pistoxenos Painter with Iphikles receiving musical instruction from Linos; ca. 470–460 B.C. Staatliches Museum Schwerin (KG 708). Photo: Museum.



43. Reverse of the skyphos shown in Fig. 42 with Herakles and Geropso. Photo: Staatliches Museum Schwerin.

Iphikles watches and then tries himself. A phorminx, maybe suggesting not only the depth of Linos' musical skills but also the mythical, epic nature of this scene, hangs in the field between them. Iphikles serves as an exemplar for the well-bred Athenian youth at school, docile and attentive. This quietly expressive image of musical education contrasts with the scene on the opposite side (Fig. 43), where the young Herakles appears as the antithesis of the obedient Iphikles. En route to his own music lesson, he is followed by his elderly Thracian nurse, Geropso (her ethnicity recognizable by her tattoos), who carries his lyre.¹¹² This type of scene, with a youth going to school accompanied by a slave or *paidagogos*, is a familiar one; however, whereas in other examples the youth in question is demurely wrapped in a himation and dutifully walks along, Herakles comes across as haughty and unwilling.¹¹³ The painter thus introduces an element of tension, for the viewer knows the events to come: Herakles, enraged by Linos' criticisms and overcome by pride, will kill his music teacher.

Although the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos is unique in presenting the events leading up to the murder, other early fifth-century painters graphically depict the killing, as for example a cup by Douris (Fig. 44).¹¹⁴ Lunging toward Linos and grasping his shoulder, Herakles wields the leg of a stool in his right hand as the teacher falls to the ground. Linos' lyre, held up in defense, dramatically contrasts with Herakles' weapon. Four other students – one of them perhaps Iphikles – scatter during the fray, their hands upraised in surprise and fear. Herakles has singlehandedly canceled the music lesson.

The viewer is clearly meant to contrast the scene of the violent, *amousikos* Herakles with the others on the cup, which present mortal Athenians in more decorous situations. On the opposite side of the exterior, refined men and youths gather and converse, a palaistra setting suggested by the strigil and sponge held by one of the men. Although it is not clear whether this is a scene of courtship, it certainly implies the *sunousia* between older and younger men in Athenian society, while the palaistra equipment also alludes to the discipline of *gymnastike*. The tondo (Fig. 45) illustrates another institution central to Athenian society, the symposium, where instruction in *mousike* was most prominently displayed by elite Athenians. The reclining symposiast can certainly be described as *mousikos*. His head tipped back, he sings in accompaniment to the youth playing an aulos beside his *kline*. The words issuing from his mouth, recognizable as part of a song by the poet Theognis, further highlight his erudition.¹¹⁵ Perhaps the viewer is meant to understand the “wrong” and “right” ways of approaching a musical education.

While Douris’ cup is the finest and most provocative of surviving Linos scenes, a few others appear in the same period, such as a stamnos by the Tyszkiewicz Painter in Boston, where Herakles again wields a stool as Linos falls from a chair while holding his lyre.¹¹⁶ The portrayal of Linos’ face in three-quarter view emphasizes his surprise and suffering. The reverse shows two youths participating in a komos, a potentially telling counterpoint to the violence of the obverse. No musical instruments are included in an attack scene on a volute krater by the Altamura Painter, although



44. Exterior of a cup by Douris with Herakles killing Linos; ca. 480 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (2646). Photo: Museum.

the youthfulness of the attacker, the age of the victim, and the structure of the composition leave no doubt that the vase shows Herakles and Linos.¹¹⁷ Linos holds a stick in lieu of a lyre as he falls, a detail that may serve to justify Herakles' actions by making Linos more of an instigator and less of a victim.

The story of Linos seems to be a curious choice of subject for Athenian vase painters. Elsewhere in Greek art Herakles is celebrated as a hero and embodiment of *arete*, but this homicide is not his finest hour, despite any provocation Linos may have given him. The confinement of the scenes to the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods may provide a clue: Might there be a link with the themes of *mousike* and education that occupied vase painters elsewhere? In killing Linos, Herakles shows disrespect for *mousike*, revealing himself as *amousikos*.¹¹⁸ The juxtaposition of scenes on the Douris cup seems to suggest that if the impetuous young hero had continued with his lessons and had not murdered his teacher, then he would have been able to speak intelligently with companions in the palaistra and sing lyric poetry like a gentleman at the symposion.¹¹⁹ Perhaps an Athenian viewer was meant to recognize that, while Herakles could serve as model for behavior in other ways, this is not one of them.

MOUSIKE AND GYMNASTIKE

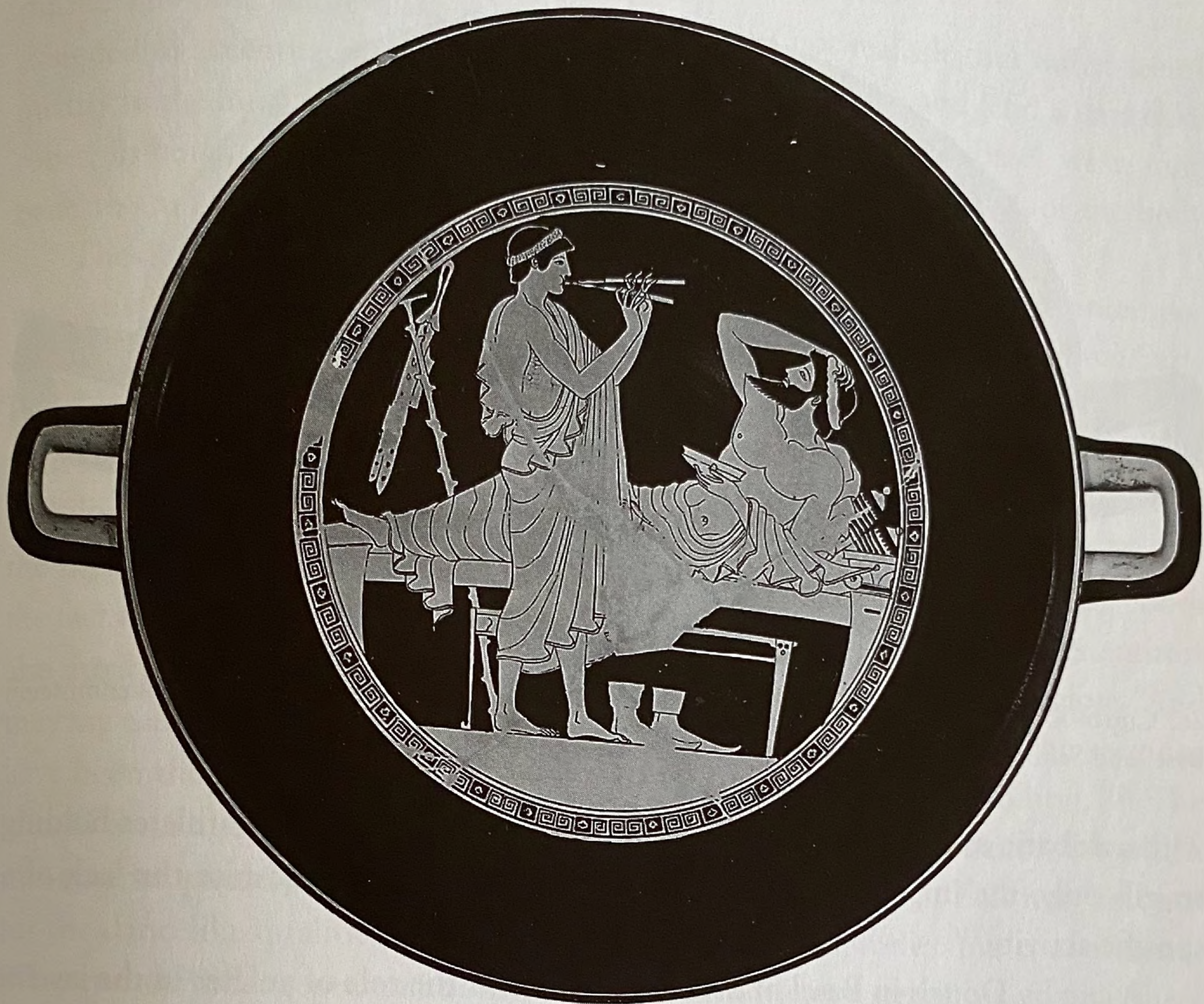
The intimate connection between *mousike* and *gymnastike* in fifth-century Athenian education is reflected on those vases that include scenes of musical instruction together with scenes referring to athletic practice, as for example Douris' Berlin cup (Figs. 1 and 2). Many purely athletic scenes include auletes providing musical accompaniment, further emphasizing the conceptual link between sport and music. Exercising to music helped athletes achieve rhythm and grace in their movements; one is reminded of the ultimate goal of *gymnastike*, to attain rhythm and harmony in both body and soul, as Sokrates explains in Plato's *Republic* (410b–e):

'Then the purpose of those who established education as the combination of *mousike* and *gymnastike*,' I said, 'was not, as some people think, Glaukon, to cultivate the body with one of them and the soul with the other.'

'Then what was it?' he asked.

'The chances are,' I said, 'that both of them were established principally for the sake of the soul.'¹²⁰

Sixth- and fifth-century vases suggest that auletes played music to accompany the long jump, javelin throw, diskos throw, and sometimes boxing, although it is not



45. Interior of the cup in Fig. 44 with revelers at a symposion. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.

clear whether they were present during actual competitions or only during practice sessions.¹²¹ The specific association of aulos music with the long jump is explained in Philostratos, *On Gymnastics* (31 and 35, circa A.D. 230): “The rules regard jumping as the most difficult of the competitions, and they allow the jumper to be given advantages in rhythm by the use of the aulos, and in weight by the use of the *halteres* [jumping weights].”¹²² Pausanias provides an alternative, mythological explanation for the use of the aulos in the jump (5.7.10): “Among the other victors [at Olympia in mythical times] it is said that Apollo beat Hermes at running. . . . They say that it is for this reason that the *Pythikon* aulos music is played during the jump in the pentathlon, because the aulos music is sacred to Apollo, and Apollo won Olympic victories.”¹²³

While auletes are present in some black-figure athletic scenes, they are particularly prolific in red-figure vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries.¹²⁴ The technique of red-figure painting helped artists portray athletes in motion more dramatically, thus enhancing the aulete’s role. Although most of these scenes depict the long jump, javelin throw, and diskos throw, auletes are sometimes associated



46. Cup by Douris with scene of long jump, accompanied by aulos player; ca. 480 B.C. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Kä 425). Photo: Museum (Claire Niggli).

with acrobatic exercises.¹²⁵ In scenes in which auletes appear with athletes holding strigils only, the importance of aulos music is still conveyed despite the lack of a specific activity.¹²⁶

A cup by Douris in Basel masterfully represents the role of auletes in the javelin throw and long jump (Fig. 46).¹²⁷ On each side of the cup, the aulete stands in the center with athletes surrounding him. The auletes are set apart from the athletes not only by their beards but also by their distinctive long patterned robes, similar to those found in scenes of musical contests. For each athletic event – the javelin on one side and long jump on the other – the painter emphasizes the variant positions of the body and the rhythmic grace of the athlete. On the side with akontists [javelin throwers], four young men are shown in different stages of the throw: two with javelin in hand preparing to release, and two others perhaps walking to take their place for the throw. The side with long jumpers similarly depicts one with *halteres* in hand preparing to jump, one in midair (an innovative pose), and one who presumably has just landed. The aulete stands near the center of the composition, his prominent position amid these accomplished athletes and their trainers vividly reminding the viewer of the music's purpose.

An unattributed hydria in London demonstrates the relationship between aulos music and the diskos throw (Fig. 47).¹²⁸ Whereas athletic scenes on cups often have a friezelike quality, here the figures are tightly integrated. A trainer with a staff and a robed aulete frame the action; in the center of the composition, a diskobolos prepares to hurl the diskos while another, half-seated athlete ties a hurling-cord around a javelin. A pair of *halteres* lie on the ground, alluding to the long jump and therefore representing all three of the events most typically associated with aulos

music. The pose of the diskobolos is striking – it is not realistic, but rather seems designed to accentuate the graceful movement of the athlete and lend a dancelike quality to the image. The aulete, like the aulete on Douris' cup in Basel, wears long robes; in both cases the garments are transparent, revealing the lines of the body beneath and further emphasizing physical excellence.

The dynamic poses of the athletes on these and other vases recall the contemporary artistic interest in *rhythmos*, as expressed for example in the work of some Early Classical sculptors.¹²⁹ In a visual sense, *rhythmos* meant form or pattern, showing the body in an arrested movement that summarized the sequence of motions associated with an activity. Thus in Myron's Diskobolos, the athlete's pose is not a realistic one and does not correspond to any moment in an actual throw, and yet the form – the *rhythmos* – of the figure artfully conveys the actions involved, suggesting “both the fact of the backswing and the potentiality of the front swing.”¹³⁰ Later authors also attribute the quality of *rhythmos* to the sculptor Pythagoras of Rhegion: “And they say that there was another Pythagoras, a sculptor from Rhegion, who seems to have been the first to aim at *rhythmos* and *symmetria* [commensurability].”¹³¹ The idea of form and pattern is ultimately related, it would seem, to dance, for which movements, pauses, and *rhythmos* are of the utmost importance. This may account for the dancelike qualities of some Early Classical images, for example, of athletes. When we consider representations of auletes and athletes together in a scene, there



47. Unattributed hydria with diskos thrower, athlete with javelin, trainer, and aulos player; ca. 510–500 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 164). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

appear to be multiple layers of *rhythmos* at work: the *rhythmoi* of the athletes' poses, coupled with the underlying sense of *rhythmos* provided by the music of the aulos.

Rhythmos was central to the pyrrhic or weapon dance, whose original aim was allegedly to prepare young men for military service.¹³² The martial theme of the *pyrrhike* rendered it a type of passage rite for young men on the brink of manhood.¹³³ In the *Deipnosophistae* (629c), Athenaios discusses the beginnings of the dance:

Further, through their music and the cultivation of their bodies they [Greeks] acquired courage, and they exercised with song to train themselves in movements under arms. This was the origin of the movements of what are called the *pyrrhichai*, and the whole of that style of dancing.¹³⁴

Plato provides a fuller description in the *Laws* (815a):

One might properly designate the warlike category of dancing the pyrrhic. It represents defensive postures against all kinds of blows and shots by turning the head aside and ducking and leaping upward or crouching; and it also aims to represent the opposite kinds of movements leading to active postures of offence when shooting with bows or javelins, or delivering blows of any kind.¹³⁵

Like other athletic events, Athenian youths performed the *pyrrhike* in the palaestra as part of training in *gymnastike*. This dance also formed part of the Panathenaic games and, judging from texts, was one of the most popular events there.¹³⁶ A fourth-century inscription (*IG II² 2311*) records that the event was open to three classes of competitors: men, youths [lit. *ageneioi* or beardless ones], and boys.¹³⁷ Each pyrrhic chorus was sponsored by a wealthy citizen as *choregos*, and the prize in each event was 100 drachmas and a bull. Although this inscription marks our earliest epigraphical evidence for the *pyrrhike* as a Panathenaic event, it was probably included in the festival program much earlier.¹³⁸

Representations of male pyrrhic dancers on Athenian vases date from the late sixth century until roughly the mid-fifth century. A large number are found on black-figure vessels, especially on lekythoi, an appropriate shape for oil used in the palaestra.¹³⁹ Red-figure scenes are less common, but sometimes appear on cups, a suitable choice for a sympotic audience familiar with the dance.¹⁴⁰ Whereas the literary sources allude to the use of music but do not give specifics, the vases show that the aulos was the instrument of choice. The clear, piercing tones of the aulos and its ability to provide cadence and rhythm rendered it particularly appropriate in this context. Although Athenian vases do not show the aulos being used in a strictly military capacity, it probably was; we can compare the seventh-century Corinthian



48. Unattributed hydria with pyrrhic dance, including aulos player; ca. 500 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.2). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Chigi Vase, which prominently features an aulete among a phalanx of marching soldiers.¹⁴¹

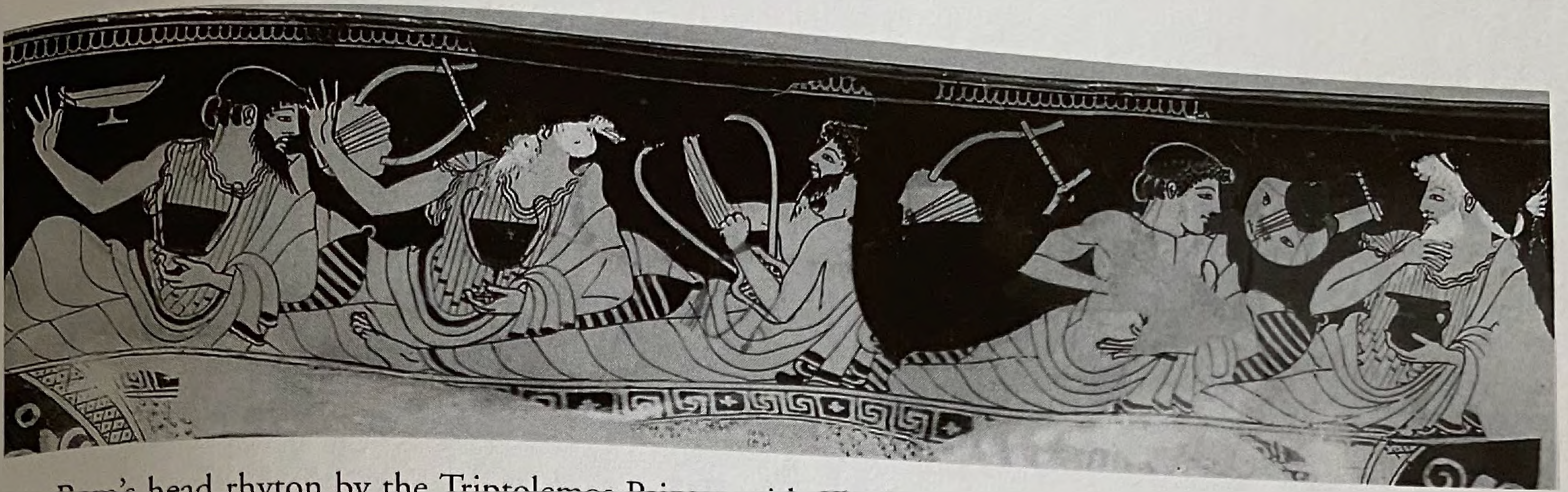
An unattributed, early fifth-century hydria in The Metropolitan Museum of Art vividly conveys the strength, grace, and action of the *pyrrhike* (Fig. 48).¹⁴² The aulete wears a simple himation and wreath, while the pyrrhic dancers are nude, save for helmets, and carry swords and spears.¹⁴³ The two dancers face each other, but they do not seem to be “fighting” in the pantomime of the dance.¹⁴⁴ Rather, the artist concentrates on a pleasing composition by making the dancers mirror one another; the one on the left has his chest turned out toward the viewer, while the one on the right twists so that his back is visible. The rhythm of the dance is suggested by the slightly crouching dancers and the lines of their spears and helmet crests; the uplifted head of the aulete balances their downcast heads. The emphasis on grace found in this scene can be compared to a cup by the Eucharides Painter in Paris, where the languid pose of the dancer is almost balletic, the line of his spear echoing the auloi of the musician and visually suggesting their concord.¹⁴⁵

Scenes of the male pyrrhic disappear from Athenian vases around mid-century, although as the inscription *IG II² 2311* indicates, the *pyrrhike* certainly continued as a Panathenaic event.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that the pyrrhic dance became less emphasized as an educational activity despite its survival in the games. Aristophanes hints at this in the *Clouds* (988–9), in which the character of the *Dikaïos Logos*, lamenting the decline of the *archaia paideia*, complains about how boys now perform the *pyrrhike*: “But on precisely those foundations my education bred the men who fought at Marathon, whereas you teach the men of today to spend their lives muffled in cloaks; and so I choke with rage when they’re supposed to be dancing at the Panathenaia and one of them’s holding his shield in front of his haunch with no regard for Tritogeneia [Athena]!”¹⁴⁷ It does not seem coincidental that scenes of the *pyrrhike*, many scenes of youths participating in other athletic sports, and youths having lessons in *mousike* all fade from the repertoire of Athenian vase painters at roughly the same time.

AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS: *MOUSIKE* AT THE SYMPOSION

A ram’s head rhyton in Virginia (Fig. 49), signed by the potter Charinos and attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, depicts five elegantly clad, reclining symposiasts drinking, playing games, and enjoying music.¹⁴⁸ One of them tunes a barbitos, while two chelys lyres and a phorminx hang in the field between the other participants. At first glance, this might seem to be a gathering of contemporary Athenians – the younger men wear the latest male fashion, with only a himation draping their bodies – but the inscriptions state otherwise.¹⁴⁹ The young, beardless member of the group is named Theseus, and the bearded man playing *kottabos* is labeled as Kekrops, both mythological kings of Athens. Other inscriptions are more fragmentary, but the older man conversing with Theseus may be his grandfather Pandion, and the other older man his father Aegeus. The identity of the symposiast with the barbitos is not clear, but he must be one of the other legendary Attic kings.¹⁵⁰

The rhyton is extraordinary first of all for placing these Athenian kings together, thereby stressing the continuity of the city and its illustrious mythological history in the years immediately following the Persian Wars.¹⁵¹ Equally noteworthy is the fact that the painter represents the kings at a symposion, the elite male social occasion that in many ways constituted a microcosm of upper-class Athenian society. Vase painters typically did not depict blatantly political activities such as the gathering of the assembly; rather, the social relationships that formed the backbone of Athenian politics (both before and after the initial foundation of the democracy in 508/7 B.C.) were understood in the images of the Athenian elite relaxing together at the symposion. At the symposion, one was expected to demonstrate the best virtues, with



49. Ram's head rhyton by the Triptolemos Painter, with Charinos as potter, roll-out photo of neck scene showing a symposium of Athenian kings; ca. 480–470 B.C. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (79.100). Photo: © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

xenia [guest-friendship] and *eusebeia* [right behavior toward the gods] being but two of them. The symposium was also an occasion to display one's education and erudition in the field of *mousike*; thus on the cup by Douris in Berlin depicting scenes of school (Figs. 1 and 2), two drinking cups hang in the field as premonitions of the boys' future sympotic ventures. The prominence of musical instruments and performance in the Virginia rhyton, as well as in other scenes of the symposium and the related komos procession, confirms the significant role and status granted to *mousike* in Athenian culture.

Music and song flavored the symposium from start to finish. A *spondeion* [libation melody] accompanied the three libations made to the gods at the outset of the evening; then came a hymn [*paian*]. Both *spondeion* and *paian* were performed to the aulos, displaying the more solemn, ritualistic side of this complex instrument.¹⁵² After the libations and hymn, the typical course of events included a series of recitations or songs [*skolia*] by the symposiasts. Each was expected to wax eloquent in his turn, either with something original or something recited from memory. The event was treated as a type of relay, with a branch of myrtle or bay passed round; the one holding the branch was the one to perform. A scholiast to Plato's *Gorgias* (451e) provides an explanation: "they [the drinking songs] were called *skolia* because the drinking companions offered the sprig to each other in turn and those who did not sing were shown to be uncultured. . . ." ¹⁵³ On a cup by the Brygos Painter, a reclining young man, holding a large skyphos in one hand and the myrtle branch in the other, tips his head back and sings *pile kai* [love and]. ¹⁵⁴ The contribution of each guest could be accompanied musically by either a hired aulos player or another guest playing the aulos, as on the interior of the cup by Douris in Munich (Fig. 45). Like that of the Brygos Painter's symposiast, this elegant gentleman's poetic contribution is spelled out by the painter as an inscription. Alternatively, the performer could accompany himself on a stringed instrument such as the lyre or barbitos. Hetairai or professional female entertainers were also part of the evening and, as is evident



50. Cup by the Epeleios Painter with revelers around a krater; ca. 500 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (2619A). Photo: Museum.

from vase paintings, were often welcomed for their erotic skills as much as their musical ones.¹⁵⁵

In representing the symposion, vase painters do not conform to a strict order of events, but conflate different parts of the evening: the opening libations, the mixing of wine and water in the krater, the roundtable performance of *skolia*, performance by hired musicians, the playing of games, and more erotic undertakings. The intent of artists is to capture the essence of the symposion, not provide an illustration. *Mousike* is intertwined throughout the activities. Often the moment of performance by a symposiast is shown; at other times an instrument hangs in the background, reminding the viewer of music's place in the evening's festivities. A Late Archaic cup by the Epeleios Painter eloquently conveys the perceived role of music in the symposion (Fig. 50).¹⁵⁶ The great krater, symbolizing the mixing of wine and water that is the central act of the evening, stands steadfast in the center among seven revelers. To the immediate left a young man hovers with a drinking cup and another man holds a barbitos aloft at right. The juxtaposition of cup, krater, and barbitos suggests the prevalence of custom and ritual at symposia; as participants gather to share in the wine, they also engage in individual and communal performance, an idea also expressed here by the dance postures of the various figures.¹⁵⁷ The proximity of the musical instrument to the krater also recalls the importance of harmonic proportion in both musical scales and the act of mixing wine and water;

a character in Plutarch's *Table Talk*, for example, compares a good mixture of wine to a musical chord.¹⁵⁸

A similar scene appears on a hydria attributed to Euthymides (Fig. 51).¹⁵⁹ The two figures at right actively engage in the mixing of wine, with the central man pouring from an amphora into the krater on the floor. The third figure at left is particularly striking. His head wreathed in ivy, he plays an aulos, but instead of looking toward his companions, he gazes directly out at the viewer with frontal face. While on the one hand the frontal face may signal an alteration in consciousness on the part of the musician (see further discussion in the following chapter), this pose also draws in the viewer, making him or her part of the performance and the action. Indeed, this scene recalls the performative nature of the vases themselves. Not only drinking cups but also amphorae, kraters, and hydriai became part of the various performances that constituted the symposion: the libations, mixing of wine, singing of songs, and even games such as *kottabos*. Images on sympotic vessels frequently allude to this performative aspect, providing the drinker with a contrived glimpse into his own society or else an alternative one peopled by Dionysian characters. It has even been suggested that the half-uttered lyrics on vases like Douris' Munich cup (Fig. 45) would have inspired the "real" viewer to pick up the song himself.¹⁶⁰



51. Hydria by Euthymides with revelers; ca. 510–500 B.C. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (G 71). Photo: Vatican, Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie.

Images of citizen men playing music at the symposion and komos likewise recall Aristotle's fourth-century discussion of the connections between musical education and the employment of leisure. In the *Politics*, Aristotle provides an apologia for instruction in *mousike*, believing it to be necessary for character development and proper conduct (1337b29–34): "Most people nowadays engage in it [music] for the pleasure it gives; but it was originally prescribed as part of education because nature itself demands, as we have often said, that we should not only go about our work in the correct way, but should also be able to occupy our leisure well. This one principle is at the root of everything."¹⁶¹ Aristotle considers sufficient leisure [*skole*] necessary for the good of the soul, distinguishing it from play [*paidia*].¹⁶² As Andrew Barker interprets Aristotle's conception of leisure, "It is not simply 'amusement' or 'entertainment' . . . It is the life of the mind, the body, and the emotions which, in the ideal case, constitute 'living well,' and for the sake of which other tasks are undertaken."¹⁶³ Aristotle believes music to be an essential component of leisure time well spent; he asserts that not only listening to performance, but being able to engage in performance is crucial.¹⁶⁴ In this he seems to be looking back to the educational practices of the early fifth century.

Vase paintings suggest that the conception of *mousike* as it related to the symposion changed over the course of the fifth century. When the span of symposion and komos scenes from circa 530 to circa 400 B.C. is viewed in a broad sense, it is clear that the most dynamic of them date from before the Persian Wars.¹⁶⁵ The imagery particularly emphasizes performance by the symposiasts at this point, although certainly the hetairai, auletrides, and other professional musicians play a role too.¹⁶⁶ Cups are the most common vessels with such images, so that we can imagine individual participants seeing elements of their own immediate experience in the scenes. A cup by the Foundry Painter presents a compendium of musical instruments: On the interior (Fig. 52), a man with staff dances to the music of a younger man's chelys lyre, while on the exterior (Fig. 11) other komasts dance with the barbitos, aulos, and krotala.¹⁶⁷ On a cup by Douris in the Vatican, a symposiast spiritedly plays the barbitos and sings while his companions drink and play at *kottabos*.¹⁶⁸ The singer's "amateur" performance contrasts with that of the "professional" auletris on the other side, whose standing position clearly sets her apart from the reclining guests.

During the period circa 530–460 B.C., when sympotic imagery was at its height, the so-called Anakreontic scenes appeared. Representing symposiasts and komasts dressed in exotic costumes, these scenes are commonly referred to as Anakreontic because of inscriptions on three examples that name the poet in inscriptions.¹⁶⁹ Dance, song, and musical instruments – especially the barbitos – play an important role; on an amphora by the Flying Angel Painter¹⁷⁰ and an early Mannerist lekythos in Boston¹⁷¹ a single reveler plays the barbitos, head tipped back in song. A barbitos player is joined by two companions on a column krater by the Pig Painter (Fig. 53),



52. Interior of the cup in Fig. II, with revelers. Photo: Toledo Museum of Art.

with the man at left holding a parasol and krotala, and the one at right a kylix.¹⁷² All three engage in unsynchronized, dancelike steps, each figure performing his own individual movements. Two additional types of musical instruments – aulos and krotala – appear on a cup attributed to the Briseis Painter, where men dressed similarly to those on the other Anakreontic vessels dance among women.¹⁷³

Particularly because of the unusual costume of the revelers, these scenes have invited much discussion. Two hypotheses predominate: The first holds that the men are dressed in women's clothing and are thus transvestites, either as an experience of "the other" in the context of the komos or as part of a festival or ritual.¹⁷⁴ The sakkos, earrings, and long chitons worn by participants are categorized as specifically feminine in this reading, which was first proposed by Beazley and continues to appear periodically in the scholarship. The musical instruments, however, are of no help here, since barbitoi, auloi, and krotala can all be played by either men or women in the imagery.

A second and more persuasive hypothesis links these komasts with the customs of Ionia as derived from the Near East.¹⁷⁵ Earrings, the sakkos, the mitra, and parasols are as Ionian as they are "feminine"; indeed, as the fifth century progressed, more conservative Athenians conflated the two, seeing Ionian customs and attitudes



53. Column krater by the Pig Painter with Anakreontic komasts; ca. 470–460 B.C. The Cleveland Museum of Art, The A. W. Ellenberger Sr. Endowment Fund (1926.549). Photo: © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2003.

as effeminate. A well-known passage in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (95–165) is a biting example, satirizing the costume and mannerisms of the poet Agathon. The musical elements in the scenes support the Ionian reading; the barbitos is the Ionian instrument *par excellence*, although the aulos is sometimes said to be from Phrygia. The connections with Anakreon himself remain tenuous; although it is possible that

Anakreon's arrival in Athens during the Peisistratid period initially inspired a fashion for dressing in Ionian costumes at the symposion or komos, it is highly unlikely that every Anakreontic scene is meant to represent the poet and his companions.

Here it is essential to consider the chronology of the Anakreontic images more carefully. Leslie Kurke has noted that the time span from circa 530 to 460 B.C. in which they are produced "overlaps nicely with the period in which aristocratic luxury is celebrated in the literary sources"; indeed, the concepts of *habrosyne* and *tryphe* – both words describing the elite lifestyle of luxury – are central to the meaning of the scenes.¹⁷⁶ When they first appear, the leisured life of the elite is a common subject, so that the Anakreontic images play a role within the larger emphasis on the symposion and komos. The elements of musical performance found here, denoting as they do status and education, are also part of this focus. As Margaret Miller has noted, about half of the Anakreontic scenes appear on cups and large vases by Late Archaic painters such as Douris or Makron, who celebrate "the good life" of the educated elite in other ways elsewhere.¹⁷⁷ But in the years approaching the mid-fifth century, these scenes, like many others we have examined, gradually fade from popularity. They are relegated largely to the work of the Mannerists in the Early Classical period, perhaps implying a shift in the consumer market, and then vanish completely.

Around the same time, symposion scenes become increasingly standardized, with professional musicians, while not entirely supplanting the music of citizen symposiasts, assuming a more visible place.¹⁷⁸ A stamnos by Polygnotos serves as



54. Stamnos by Polygnotos with symposion; ca. 450–440 B.C. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia (3584). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 80.212, Schwanke).



55. Hydria by Polygnotos with professional female entertainers; ca. 450–440 B.C. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (81398/H3232). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 71.339, Singer).

an example (Fig. 54): An auletris stands in the center of the composition and plays her instrument between two couches.¹⁷⁹ The symposiast to left holds a barbitos but does not play it, his three-quarter-view face suggesting his rapt attention to the music of the auletris. His neighbor to the right seems equally drawn into the aulos music, his right hand held to his upturned head.¹⁸⁰ Polygnotos' stamnos represents one of the more finely drawn examples of these later scenes; countless others feature similar compositions but range from more practiced artists to purely stock painters. The comparatively modest dress of these female auletrides (although occasionally transparent, as here), together with their physical removal from the symposiasts, would seem to indicate that they are not the companionable and more highly paid hetairai of earlier scenes. The lively originality and often titillating eroticism of the Late Archaic scenes have almost completely disappeared, and the citizen symposiasts on the whole seem more interested in conversation or listening to an auletris than performing themselves.¹⁸¹

The second half of the fifth century witnesses increased representations of other types of professional female entertainers, in settings beyond the symposion but apparently related to it. Scenes of women or girls dancing the pyrrhic to musical accompaniment become popular, especially during the years circa 440–420 B.C.; they virtually replace images of the male pyrrhic, which seem more tied to military and educational ideals.¹⁸² Although there has been some debate over the setting and subject of the female pyrrhic images, the majority of them are likely connected with the symposion and the training of professional entertainers.¹⁸³ A female pyrrhicist appears at a symposion on a bell krater by the Lykaon Painter; mostly nude (the artist emphasizes her femininity by painting her body white), she dances with spear and shield as four reclining symposiasts watch.¹⁸⁴ One of them plays the aulos to provide accompaniment for her dance. Similarly, a calyx krater by the Kassel Painter depicts a young girl nude except for a helmet, dancing with spear and shield before a seated auletris who is probably her instructor and mistress.¹⁸⁵ Two Polygnotan hydriai,



56. Phiale by the Phiale Painter with scenes of men and female entertainers; ca. 430 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Catherine Page Perkins Fund (97.371). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

one attributed to Polygnotos himself (Fig. 55) and the other to a member of his Group, feature more elaborate scenes of the instruction of professional entertainers, with not only female pyrrhic dancers, but also dancers and a tumbler, all performing to auloi and krotala.¹⁸⁶ When men are included in scenes such as these, they are likely prospective clients who have come to choose entertainers for the symposia they plan to host.¹⁸⁷

The name vase of the Phiale Painter likewise depicts a comprehensive assortment of professional female entertainers (Fig. 56).¹⁸⁸ Male clients, recognizable by their staffs indicating social status, are occupied by various women, perhaps seeking them for symposia.¹⁸⁹ One bearded man responds to the music of an auletris, while another, younger man gestures toward a *chitoniskos*-clad girl dancing with krotala.¹⁹⁰ A woman with a narthex, presumably one of the mistresses of the house, directs the latter's performance.¹⁹¹ Finally, a muffled dancer distracts a third gentleman as another woman watches him with oinochoe and phiale. With its varied iconography and lively tableaux, the vase suggests the wide range of professional entertainment available to clients of means. None of the three men here hold money, but the economics of entertainment are suggested on a hydria by the same painter in Copenhagen: a nude girl dances with krotala before a seated auletris as a youth with staff and moneybag watches from the right.¹⁹²

The increased visibility of professional entertainers, together with the seemingly decreased emphasis on citizen performance and the outright disappearance of such motifs as the Anakreontic scenes, points up not only changed attitudes toward education in *mousike* but also toward the aristocratic lifestyle as a whole. The closed, elite world of the symposion and the flashy, rowdy komos were increasingly viewed with suspicion by members of the *demos* in the second half of the fifth century as at best old-fashioned and at worst unnecessary manifestations of *habrosyne*. Whereas the Anakreontic dressed komasts initially represented the height of musical and visual fashion, such customs came to be regarded with scorn. The wildly dancing Anakreontics of the Early Classical period sharply contrast, for example, with the sedate himation-clad figures of the Triptolemos Painter's rhyton (Fig. 49), although the latter certainly has an elite dimension itself.¹⁹³ Symposia do not disappear in the second half of the fifth century, but the cultural and educational values espoused there do change, as exemplified by modifications in entertainment. The literary sources suggest that there was a greater demand for professional talent, not only "flute girls," but dancers, acrobats, and others. In Xenophon's *Symposion* (2.1), a fourth-century account of a late fifth-century occasion, the host Kallias hires an aulos player, a girl acrobat who performs with swords, a boy lyre player, and a dancer.¹⁹⁴ In Plato's *Protagoras* (347c-d), Sokrates complains about the entertainment at the symposia of "second-rate and commonplace people":

Such men being too uneducated to entertain themselves as they drink by using their own voices and conversational resources, put up the price of female musicians, paying well for the hire of an extraneous voice – that of the aulos – and find their entertainment in its warblings. But where the drinkers are men of worth and culture, you will find no girls piping or dancing or harping.¹⁹⁵

In an equally revealing passage from Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1353–79), a father (Strepsiades) complains about his son Phidippides and the latter's contempt for old-fashioned songs and sympotic customs:

Str.: First of all I asked him to pick up his lyre and sing a song by Simonides, the one about how Ram got shorn, and he right away said it was old-fashioned to play the lyre and sing at a drinking party, like a woman hulling barley.

Phi.: Why, right then and there you should have been pounded and stomped – asking me to sing, as if you were throwing a feast for cicadas!

Str.: That's just the kind of thing he kept saying. . . . Then I asked him if he would at least take a myrtle sprig and sing me something from the works of Aischylos. And he right away said, "In my opinion, Aischylos is chief among poets – chiefly full of noise, incoherent, a windbag, a maker of lofty locutions." Can you imagine how that jolted my heart?¹⁹⁶

Had the custom of roundtable performance indeed become "coarse and obsolete" in the eyes of many, and does this explain changes in the sympotic imagery?

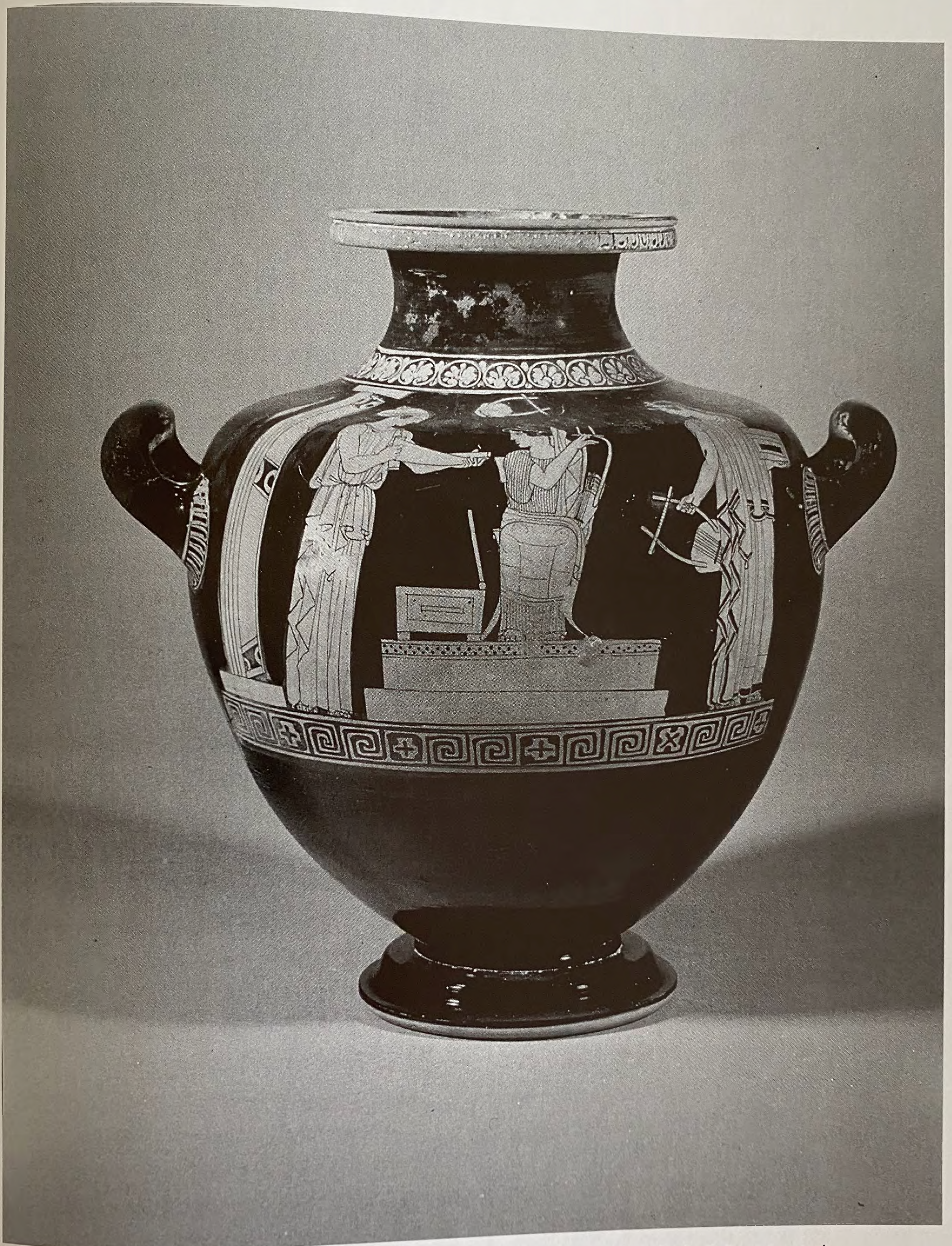
There may be an additional dimension to the question. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries, as previously noted, sympotic scenes are primarily represented on cups, whereas in the second half of the fifth century – among, for example, the painters associated with the Polygnotan workshop – sympotic and komos imagery is mainly found on larger vessels such as stamnoi and kraters of various shapes.¹⁹⁷ Along with the 'stock' quality of contemporary symposion scenes, might the change in vase shapes suggest an increasing "democratization" of symposia?¹⁹⁸ To put it another way: The wealthy elite of the Late Archaic period who engaged in symposia could presumably afford finely decorated cups (probably metal as well as terracotta) for each individual guest. Someone of lesser means later in the fifth century might choose instead to have a single, larger vessel to display for guests, like the krater that would be used to mix the water and wine. Given the accidents of survival, this may be a broad generalization, but one worth considering. If symposia over the course of the Classical period did include broader social strata than had been the case in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, then perhaps the members of these groups did not have the same educational foundations in *mousike* that had been the norm

for the elite of an earlier time. Representations directly relating to that education – be it sympotic images of roundtable performance, or even school and courtship scenes – would not have been as meaningful.

WOMEN AND *MOUSIKE*

Thus far in our discussion of *mousike*, we have encountered two very different kinds of female musicians: Muses or other mythological women, and professional entertainers or hetairai. Both are prevalent in fifth-century imagery, reflecting the important place of each in Athenian life and culture: The Muses provide inspiration, while the hetairai provide action. Ancient (male) authors writing about fifth-century musical practices or ideas mention only these two categories of female musicians and do not discuss musical education at all in reference to citizen women. If one were to consider only the literary sources, one would think that, unlike their male counterparts, “respectable” Athenian women did not receive an education in *mousike*. The visual evidence, however, presents a different picture. On a hydria by the Niobid Painter (Fig. 57), three women, gathered in a house, play music together during an informal concert.¹⁹⁹ The central figure sits on a *klismos* tuning her barbitos, her physical and even social position emphasized by the stepped *bema*, or platform, on which her chair stands and the chelys lyre suspended above her head. The musician looks to a companion who extends an open book roll for her to consult, perhaps containing the music or lyrics of the song. An open chest on the floor may hold more scrolls. A third woman carries another chest and a chelys lyre in her hands, perhaps waiting for her turn to perform. The open door at the left of the scene confirms the domestic setting.²⁰⁰ All three women are richly and respectably garbed. The two standing figures wear peploi, and the central woman wears a chiton, himation, and loosely draped veil.

With this image and another on an amphora in Baltimore (Fig. 58),²⁰¹ the Niobid Painter, along with other contemporary Athenian vase painters, ushers in a new type of scene showing women playing music in a domestic context.²⁰² Produced from the Early Classical period until the end of the century by a wide range of artists and workshops, these representations constitute a fusion between two trends in fifth-century iconography: increased attention to musical themes and a heightened interest in images of women. Characteristic features include an interior setting with furniture and architectural details indicating an Athenian house, one or more women with musical instruments, and often women with other objects who act as the audience. Eros can sometimes appear, as well as an occasional male figure, probably to be identified as the husband. The Niobid Painter’s Baltimore amphora depicts three women: a seated woman with barbitos in the center, flanked by a



57. Hydria by the Niobid Painter with female musicians; ca. 460 B.C. New York, Solow Art and Architecture Foundation. Photo: Foundation.



58. Amphora by the Niobid Painter with female musicians; ca. 460–450 B.C. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (48.2712). Photo: Museum.

woman peering into a chest at left and a woman with auloi at right. A chelys lyre suspended over the head of the central woman completes the scene and, because of its placement on a “wall,” suggests an interior space.

The distribution of the domestic scenes among specific vase shapes suggests that their primary audience consisted of women. Indeed, these images are found on a wide range of shapes, including hydriai, lekythoi (both red-figure and white-ground), pelikai, oinochoai, pyxides, bell and calyx kraters, lebetes gamikoi, amphorae, and stamnoi. The highest concentration are found on hydriai, vessels particularly associated with women and household work. Lekythoi similarly suggest the world of women and female adornment, while lebetes gamikoi and loutrophoroi are both

types of nuptial vessels. This distribution represents a marked difference from the school, athletic, and sympotic scenes discussed elsewhere in this chapter, which are found on cups and other sympotic vessels and whose primary intended audience can therefore be defined as male.

In the domestic scenes, the women play a variety of musical instruments: *chelys* lyres, *auloi*, *barbitoi*, *phorminxes*, and harps. They never play the concert *kithara*, given that instrument's predominant association with male virtuosi. Many images greatly emphasize the relationship between performer and listener and between the performer and her own music. One of the most dramatic examples in this regard is a bell krater by the Danae Painter in New York (Fig. 59).²⁰³ A woman sits at right playing a *barbitos*, balancing it close to her body with her left hand and wrist while



59. Bell krater by the Danae Painter with woman playing *barbitos* and listeners; ca. 440–430 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.80). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

holding a plektron in her right hand. Her face is shown in three-quarter view – a not uncommon but nonetheless striking posture – with wide eyes staring out beyond the viewer. This pose may indicate the total absorption of the performer into her music, a transcendental state of consciousness and awareness (compare also Fig. 18).²⁰⁴ Her audience consists of two women at the left of the scene; dressed in elegant clothes like the musician, they are enraptured by her performance. One leans on the shoulders of the other, and both stare intently. The three figures – and the viewer of the vase – are brought together in a complex relationship of gaze and gesture, with the overall mood of the scene being one of quiet harmony.

The iconography of these scenes and their concentration within a specific span of time raise important questions about their historicity and meaning. The identity of the women has inspired much discussion: Are they Muses, hetairai, or “respectable” Athenian women? Implicit within the question and the attempted identifications are issues of social status, education, gender roles, and patronage. The proposed identification of the women as Muses derives from the similarity of these images to scenes that clearly depict the goddesses. However, when there are no inscriptions naming the women as Muses and no indications of an outdoor setting such as Mount Helikon, one need not automatically assume these are actually Muses.²⁰⁵ There is no question that the scenes deliberately resemble scenes of Muses, but one could suggest that, as mortal women, the figures are meant to be metaphorically compared to the goddesses.

The possible identification of the musical women as hetairai stems from the frequent mention of professional female musicians in literary sources,²⁰⁶ as well as the wealth of images showing hetairai or girls for hire as musicians.²⁰⁷ However, we should not feel obligated to identify all mortal musicians on vases as hetairai or prostitutes simply because the texts do not state that “respectable” women could receive a musical education.²⁰⁸ Specific visual details relating to the world of hetairai or the symposion are absent, and the general mood of the scenes is quite different (compare Fig. 55). It has been argued that because some of the women hold or play auloi – as on the Niobid Painter’s amphora in Baltimore – they must be hetairai.²⁰⁹ However, the aulos was a complex instrument and not one exclusively linked to hetairai and sympotic practice; even the Muses play it in this period.²¹⁰

The third, and most plausible, option is that these musical scenes represent Athenian citizen women.²¹¹ The composition and iconography of these images are highly comparable to domestic scenes showing mortal women working wool, at their toilet, or with attendants or companions, images that German scholars have termed *Frauengemachbilder*, or “pictures of women doing things.”²¹² Like the scenes of musicians, *Frauengemachbilder* emphasize the domestic setting, with household interiors indicated by furniture, columns, doors, or objects hanging in the field.

Similar iconographic signs appear: The kalathoi or wool baskets ubiquitous in scenes of weaving are found in some images of female musicians.²¹³

If the women in the musical scenes can indeed be identified as “respectable” mortals, one can presume that the images reflect some aspect of actual practice, although here as always it would be misleading to treat vase paintings as photographic documents. Scenes such as the Niobid Painter’s hydria (Fig. 57) suggest not only that some citizen women could receive education in music and play instruments competently, but that some could read as well.²¹⁴ Because the literary sources choose not to comment on this subject, the degree to which education was available to citizen women and the extent to which they performed music in their homes remain unknown.²¹⁵ Nonetheless, the musical scenes become important sources of evidence in the ongoing debate regarding the status of women in Classical Athens. Modern scholarly interpretations of Classical Athenian women have tended to follow two different trajectories, which Carla Antonaccio has aptly described as the “optimistic” and “pessimistic.”²¹⁶ On the one hand, many scholars have asserted that Athenian women were excluded from public life, secluded in the “women’s quarters” of their houses, completely submissive to their husbands, forbidden contact with outsiders, denied an education and considered “Other” rather than citizen. Ironically, this is a mindset that originated with nineteenth-century and earlier male perceptions of women’s ideal roles, but continues to be promoted by many feminist scholars with a different agenda.²¹⁷ Those who support this view point to scenes of women creating textiles on vases, for example, as exploitative images indicative of a patriarchal, repressive society.²¹⁸ Many in this camp are likewise unwilling to admit the possibility that women could receive a musical education and enjoy leisure time at home with friends; ergo, they believe the female musicians shown in domestic scenes on the vases cannot be “respectable” citizen women.²¹⁹

A second trajectory in the study of Athenian women – more moderate and likely more accurate – views Athenian women as active in the maintenance of the *oikos* and suggests that men recognized the essentiality of women in this regard. This approach questions the received wisdom, seeking to reanalyze gender roles within both the *oikos* and the larger *polis*. Recent reexamination of the archaeology of Greek houses has bolstered this position by proposing a more fluid model of spatial organization than the “men’s room” and “women’s quarters” [*andron* and *gynaikeion*] dichotomy often proposed in the “seclusion” scenario.²²⁰ According to this model, although women did spend most of their time in their houses, the situation was not one of total seclusion, exclusion, and oppression.²²¹ There was indeed a decided separation of gender roles, in the sense that certain activities were considered appropriate for men and others for women. As expressed by Ischomachos in Xenophon’s *Oikonomikos*, for men these tended to be *ta exo* [things outside] and for women *ta endon* [things inside].²²² Women were not, however, demeaned through this separation of roles.

Rather, both genders were considered important for the propagation of the *oikos* and worked actively for that end.²²³

By extension, both genders were considered essential to the *polis*. Aristotle promotes the importance of both men and women for the community in the *Rhetoric* (1361a), and in the *Politics* (1259a38–1259b10) he refers to the relationship between husband and wife in political terms as a *koinonia*, or type of partnership.²²⁴ Women did participate actively in public life, particularly in religious cults; if they were less wealthy, they worked in the agora or other public spaces. Scenes on white-ground lekythoi from the fifth century attest to women's important roles in maintaining funerary cult and presenting offerings in public cemeteries.²²⁵ It is true that even Athenian-born women did not participate in the political life of the city, but texts nonetheless describe them as *astai*, a term equivalent to the male *astoi* in terms of citizenship and membership in the community.²²⁶ The significance of Athenian-born women must have further increased with the so-called Periklean citizenship law of 451/0, which defined a full Athenian citizen as a male whose father *and* mother were native to the city.²²⁷

These more positive interpretations of the roles of women in fifth-century Athens inspire more optimistic readings of contemporary imagery. We can recognize scenes of women's work, such as textile production, as symbols of a woman's contributions to the household and acknowledgment of her essentiality.²²⁸ Representations of women playing music in the house further support this more nuanced view, because they suggest women were not expected exclusively to spend their days working as a form of cheap labor, but could receive musical training, receive female guests in the home, and relax together. The scenes visually compare the Athenian women to Muses and grant them the talents of *mousike* as well. These are in fact the most eloquent portrayals of women at leisure in fifth-century art; such depictions would have been prized by patrons because of the suggestion of status.²²⁹ Classical images of women performing music within the home become a pendant to earlier representations of symposia, in which musical and poetic performance among men is similarly valued. At the same time, these women are contrasted with professional musicians and hetairai, presenting instead "respectable" Athenian female behavior.

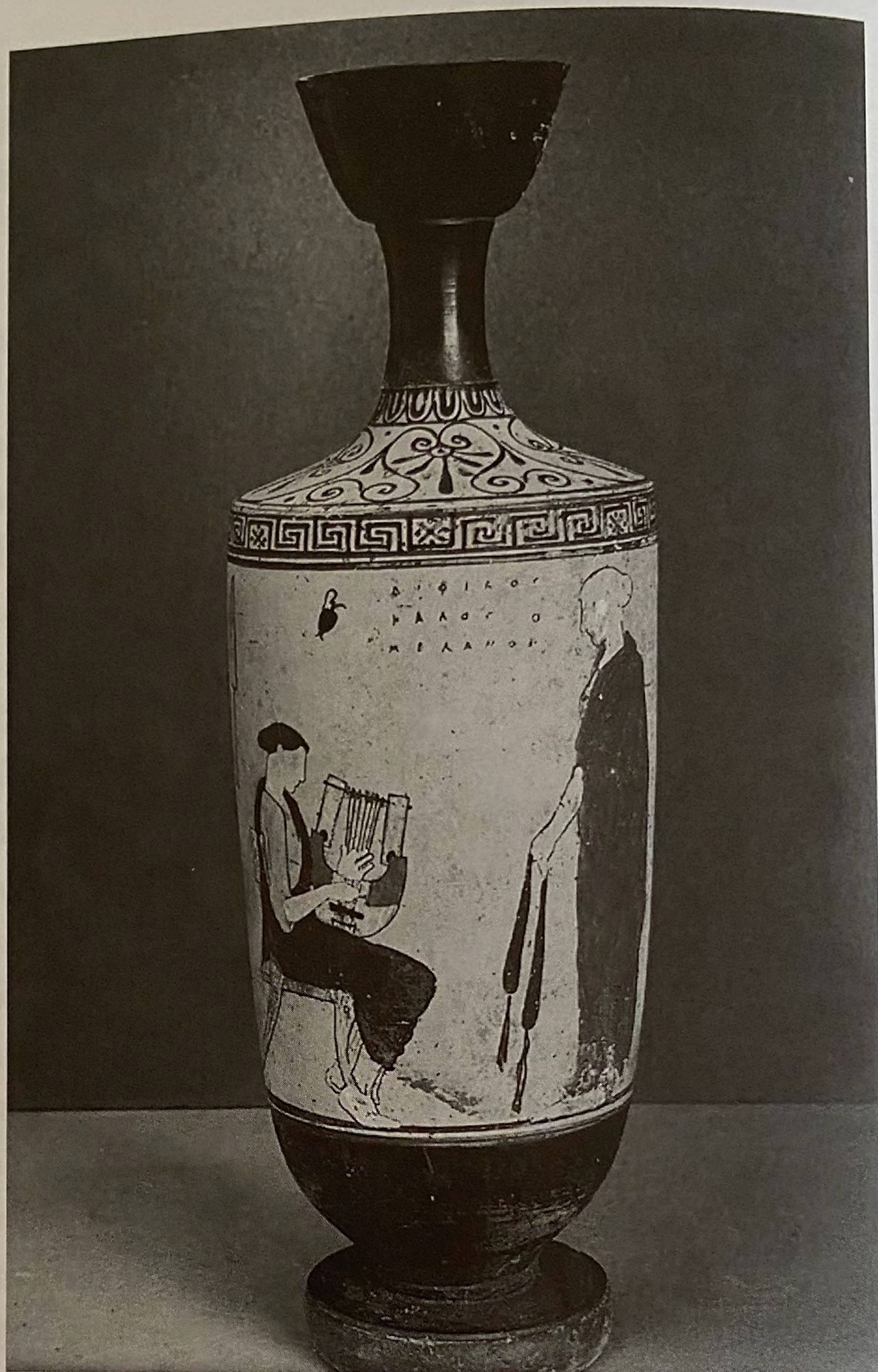
A small group of white-ground lekythoi depicting female musicians further demonstrates the positive nature of these images. We have already seen that male musicians on white-ground lekythoi suggested the pleasurable occupation of the deceased in the underworld as well as his educated, citizen status in life. Similarly, a white-ground lekythos showing Muses by the Achilles Painter (Fig. 14) may have been intended for a deceased woman, alluding to her own education and status. Whereas the Munich lekythos places the Muses in the outdoor environment of Mount Helikon, the Achilles Painter created four additional white-ground lekythoi

showing female musicians in a domestic setting.²³⁰ A fifth example, slightly earlier, comes from the hand of the Timokrates Painter and is today in Brussels (Fig. 7).²³¹ These vessels undoubtedly have a funerary function as tomb equipment, offerings, or both, and their compositions recall the so-called "mistress and maid" domestic scenes found on so many other fifth-century lekythoi.²³² Like the characters in the latter scenes, these are probably educated and privileged women of the Athenian citizen class, compared to the Muses without actually being Muses.

Unlike the images of male musicians on white-ground lekythoi, these five examples do not include grave monuments, which if present would definitively establish a cemetery setting and help identify the deceased. Three of the scenes depict two standing women in poses suggesting conversation. On the Timokrates Painter's vase (Fig. 7), the woman at left plays an aulos, while the woman at right watches her companion's performance and holds a chelys lyre. On a lekythos by the Achilles Painter in Bologna, one of the women holds a phorminx while the other gestures toward her; on a lekythos by the same painter in Havana, a woman holds a lyre and gestures as the woman standing at right holds out a fillet. The fillet recalls those used to decorate tombs, which frequently appear on white-ground lekythoi; however, it is difficult to firmly establish the scene as one of offering. Two other lekythoi by the Achilles Painter show a standing woman before a seated woman with a musical instrument. On a lekythos in Oxford, the seated woman has a phorminx, while the other holds a chelys lyre and gestures. More ambiguous is a lekythos in Stockholm (Fig. 60), on which the seated woman plays a phorminx, and the other woman stands quietly with a fillet. From the apparent detachment of the musician, as well as the fillet held by the standing figure, some have suggested that the seated woman is deceased.²³³ Without a more definite setting, however, it is difficult to be sure, and it is entirely possible that both women are alive and together in the home. Perhaps all five scenes are deliberately ambiguous, leaving any specific connotations open to interpretation. In any case, the funerary nature of these vases suggests it was desirable and acceptable to memorialize a woman as educated for all eternity.

In a few instances, the identity of a particular female musician can be confirmed by inscription as the Archaic poetess Sappho of Lesbos. The sole known High Classical image of Sappho appears on a hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, where she sits among other women in a domestic setting (Fig. 61).²³⁴ She reads a book roll whose contents are written in the Ionic dialect and, although disputed, seem to include the phrases "winged words" and "with airy words I begin."²³⁵ Although she does not play a musical instrument, her role as musician and lyric poet is emphasized by the figure named by inscription as Kallis, who holds out a chelys lyre to Sappho. Another woman, identified as Nikopolis, extends a wreath over Sappho's head as if to crown her.²³⁶ At the far right of the scene a fourth, unidentified woman places a hand on Kallis' shoulder and watches the proceedings.

60. White-ground lekythos by the Achilles Painter with woman, playing phorminx, and companion; ca. 460–450 B.C. Stockholm, National Museum (G 2107). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. Athen Varia 699).



The Polygnotan hydria represents a departure from the three surviving earlier images of Sappho, where she is shown with a barbitos, perhaps alluding to her Eastern homeland. On the name vase of the Sappho Painter, a hydria painted in the so-called Six's technique, she plays the barbitos alone.²³⁷ She is also alone on the obverse of a calyx krater attributed to the Tithonos Painter, again seemingly in the midst of playing the barbitos (holding a plektron in her right hand) and perhaps executing a dance step reminiscent of those performed by komasts.²³⁸ A third vase, a kalathoid psykter by the Brygos Painter in Munich, places Sappho in a context more evocative of the symposion; she stands with her barbitos at right, her face in the unusual three-quarter view looking back to the poet Alkaios (both identified by inscription), who plays his own barbitos and sings, his verse indicated by a string of omicrons.²³⁹ While some have suggested that the kalathoid shape of this vase links it to a female owner, it is more likely part of the male symposion, a hypothesis supported by the inclusion of Dionysos and a female follower on the opposite side,

along with a *kalos* inscription [*Damakalos*] on the Sappho scene itself.²⁴⁰ The shape is admittedly unusual, but need not indicate female ownership.

The Polygnotan hydria in Athens removes Sappho from a sympotic environment and places her in a scene that melds the imagery of Muses, musical contests, mortal female musicians, and perhaps even the wedding. Although J. M. Snyder has argued that this scene and the three previous “constitute the ‘muting’ of a female figure as represented by male artists,” the fact that Sappho is singled out for representation at all demonstrates her exalted position among Greek poets.²⁴¹ The chelys lyre in the Polygnotan scene brings Sappho into the realm of the Muses, a compliment to her talent akin to Plato’s sobriquet “the tenth Muse.” The book



61. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos with Sappho and companions; ca. 440 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (1260). Photo: Museum.

roll, indicative of literacy, would seem to be an additional status symbol, given the still-limited range of literacy in this period. Although the figure with a wreath is not the winged Nike of musical contest scenes, the name Nikopolis clearly introduces the symbolism of victory. The wreath may also recall wedding imagery, appropriate considering the romantic and nuptial content of much of Sappho's poetry. One may speculate that this hydria was meant for a female owner, with the multivalent iconography of music, lyric poetry, the Muses, education, and the wedding being very suitable for a young bride or wife.²⁴² In this, Sappho – like the Muses themselves or the anonymous female musicians of other vases – serves as a positive role model of *mousike*.²⁴³

ETHOS AND THE CHARACTER OF MUSICAL IMAGERY

From early in Greek history, music was believed to have significant effects on a person's behavior or character. This belief was expressed, for example, in Homer's *Odyssey* (12.199–259), in which the Sirens' song had the potential to bring death to those who listened. Over time, ideas about the *ethos*, or character, of music and its influence on listeners grew, with the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. being a time of particularly heightened inquiry. All the elements of a musical piece – rhythm, mode, tempo, pitch, even musical instruments themselves – were increasingly thought to shape someone's actions and mental state. Among fifth-century poets, this idea was eloquently expressed by Pindar, believed to be a student of Lasos of Hermione, who may have formulated theoretical ideas of musical *ethos* in his treatises. In certain of Pindar's epinician odes (e.g. *First Pythian* 1.1–12), he refers to the power of music over listeners, its ability to soothe and calm, and at the same time to transcend time and space, reach distant places, and immortalize great deeds forever.

A comprehensive analysis of fifth-century literary sources relating to musical *ethos* is impossible, given the paucity of surviving texts. Later authors assert the primacy of one particular theorist, Damon of Oa, who seems to have developed the connections between *ethos* and music to a hitherto-unseen degree.¹ Although much about Damon remains unknown, he held an extremely influential position as a teacher and political adviser to Perikles. He may have helped encourage Perikles to build the Odeion at the base of the Akropolis and reform the Panathenaic musical contests (see Chap. 5). As for his musical theories, Damon believed in the premise that music could influence character or behavior. Later sources claimed that he addressed the Areopagos Council, and it has been postulated that, if true, he discussed the moral repercussions of music for the listener and the populace at large, advocating state regulation of musical education.² His good fortune, however, did not last; apparently ostracized and temporarily exiled (perhaps in the late 440s), Damon lost his influence in the city and even after his return to Athens did not involve himself in politics again.³ It is likely that his forays into the political sphere, including his publicly proclaimed views about education and steadfast support of

Perikles, contributed to his ostracism.⁴ Damon's original writings have not survived, but his ideas regarding musical *ethos* had profound influence on later work. We have already seen Sokrates' mention of Damon in Plato's *Republic* (424c); elsewhere in the *Republic* (400b), Sokrates mentions Damon as a source of information for the musical modes [*harmoniai*] and their effects on behavior and character. Even texts such as Athenaios' *Deipnosophistae* refer to Damon, but with later authors it becomes increasingly difficult to separate his beliefs from theirs.

Literary sources provide only scanty information about fifth-century conceptions of musical *ethos*, but can visual imagery contribute to our understanding? Indeed, contemporary artists were evidently very interested in conveying the relationship between music and its listeners. Expressive images of performers and spectators abound in the fifth century, along with scenes suggesting the potentially negative consequences of immoderate musical behavior. While it would be misleading to see specific Damonian references in the imagery, nonetheless we can postulate that some of the new ideas about music and character had permeated the cultural *Zeitgeist*.

Such concerns mesh well with other currents in fifth-century art, namely a more holistic interest in *ethos* and the consequences of action and thought. Although *ethos* signified the good or bad character of any subject, it was particularly linked with ideals of virtue, most notably *sophrosyne*, especially in opposition to *hubris*.⁵ Interest in *sophrosyne* and *hubris* inspired the popularity of such subjects as the Centauromachy, Amazonomachy, and Gigantomachy in wall painting, architectural sculpture, and vase painting. As has often been noted, these mythical battles could serve as metaphors for the equally epic conflicts between the Greeks and Persians, with the *sophron* Greeks, representatives of civilization, opposing the bestial, hubristic barbarians who threatened the established order. At the same time, these images alluded to the struggle for *sophrosyne* within the individual self. A viewer encountering the scenes in art, no matter the medium, was invited to consider their moral implications. An example is the sculptural program of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, where scenes of the Centauromachy (west pediment) and the prelude to the race between Pelops and Oinomaos (east pediment) bring ideas of *sophrosyne*, *hubris*, and *dike* [justice] to life.

According to post-fifth-century written sources, one of the Classical artists most closely associated with *ethos* was the wall painter Polygnotos of Thasos. In the *Politics* (1450a24), Aristotle describes him as an *agathos ethographos*, "an excellent painter of character," with this additional observation: "The young should be made to look not at the paintings of Pauson but at those of Polygnotos or of any other painter or sculptor who is concerned with character [*ethikos*]."⁶ Two of the most well-known works of Polygnotos were a pair of monumental paintings in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi, one depicting the *Ilioupersis* [sack of Troy] and the other a *Nekyia* [scene

of the Underworld], inspired by Book II of the *Odyssey*.⁷ Although the original paintings no longer exist, a lengthy description by Pausanias (10.28–31) provides a useful account of their content and appearance. In the *Nekyia*, Polygnotos departed from the Homeric description of the Underworld by including three musicians: Orpheus, Thamyras, and Marsyas. Orpheus had appeared previously in Greek art, but this marked one of the first known visual representations of either Thamyras or Marsyas. From Pausanias' description, it seems that Polygnotos of Thasos used the three musicians to explore his own ideas about *ethos*. With the figure of Orpheus, Polygnotos articulated the relationship between musician and spectator by depicting the seated poet with a stringed instrument as other figures watch (10.30.6–8). This characterization of Orpheus can be compared with scenes in contemporary vase painting, especially those representing Orpheus among the Thracian men (itself a new theme in art).

In contrast, the portrayal of Thamyras in the *Nekyia* suggests a hubristic musician who has acted immoderately and overstepped his boundaries (Paus. 10.30.8): "Seated near Pelias is Thamyras, whose eyes have been blinded and is represented in the attitude of one who is completely humiliated; the hair on his head has grown long as has his beard. His lyre is thrown at his feet, with its horns broken and with strings which have snapped."⁸ Pausanias' description recalls a slightly later vase attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, an Athenian vase painter who may have adopted this name out of homage to the Thasian wall painter (Fig. 15). In both instances, Thamyras appears after his punishment at the hands of the Muses, the outcome of a musical contest in which he challenged the goddesses. In the *Nekyia*, Polygnotos emphasized the tragic figure of Thamyras by visually contrasting his broken instrument with the intact kithara or lyre of the nearby Orpheus.

The third mythological musician in the *Nekyia*, the satyr Marsyas, was shown teaching the aulos to the young Olympos (Paus. 10.30.9). The *sunousia* between Marsyas and Olympos is recorded by some later authors, as in the pseudo-Plutarchian *De Musica* (1133e); this was not, however, a scene common in Greek art. One might expect a reference to one of the more well-known episodes in the life of Marsyas: the rejection of the aulos by Athena or the contest with Apollo and the satyr's subsequent punishment by flaying. Nonetheless, we can presume viewers of the *Nekyia* would have been sufficiently familiar with the story of Marsyas to recognize the satyr as another character who ultimately acted immoderately with regards to music.

Although Polygnotos of Thasos was one of the first Greek artists to represent Thamyras and Marsyas, he was not the last. Both subjects recur in fifth-century Athenian vase painting, and scenes of Marsyas remain popular long after; so too Orpheus, whom fifth-century vase painters depicted with even greater frequency. We can surely ascribe the appearance of all three mythological musicians in fifth-century

Athenian art to an overarching interest in *ethos*, in both an artistic and musical sense. Nor are they the only reflections of such concerns; fifth-century painters used other themes such as the symposion and the Dionysian *thiasos* to explore the relationship among music, character, and action.

MUSIC ON THE EDGE: DIONYSOS AND HIS WORLD

A topos in the modern study of ancient Greek music has been the alleged opposition between the music of Apollo and the music of Dionysos – the former logical, rational, and linked with stringed instruments, the latter wild, irrational, and allied with the aulos. We have already seen that the characterization of the aulos as a rejected entity or exclusively Dionysian instrument is exaggerated at best and that the aulos is better interpreted as a complex, multifaceted instrument capable of inducing both reverent sobriety and reckless abandon. This reading can be extended to music as a whole, as the Greeks were well aware of music's potential to inspire calm or incite ecstasy. Both literary sources and visual imagery do suggest that the god Dionysos and his followers were associated with certain kinds of music and certain accompanying attitudes. Thus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (375–85), the Chorus includes “laughter to the aulos” among the gifts of the god.⁹ But it would be erroneous to think that the Greeks perceived the sometimes topsy-turvy Dionysian world as inferior to the Apolline; rather, the two realms coexisted, just as thoughts and feelings can coexist in the human psyche. For the Greeks, there was no order without disorder, and sometimes disorder was even necessary to bring about order and equilibrium [*isonomia*].

We have already considered the symposion as a place of social ritual where elite men displayed their talents in *mousike*. Yet for all the ritualized behavior, the symposion was still a fluid and ambiguous environment, as fluid and ambiguous as the wine consumed there or as Dionysos himself.¹⁰ When mixed according to the proper proportions and imbibed in moderation, wine was a beneficial substance, but it always had the potential to lead the drinker into the murky waters of drunkenness and *enthousiasmos*, given any misstep. So too music could be an uplifting force, but could also bring its own form of madness [*mania*]. As the poet Simonides expressed it, “Wine and music have the same source.”¹¹ Wine and music were certainly equated in the imagery, with cups, kraters, wineskins, and musical instruments consistently juxtaposed. Similarly, just as they had numerous ways of showing the effects of wine on a drinker, vase painters also had numerous ways of showing the effects of music on a listener; we see these most evidently in scenes of the symposion, komos, and the Dionysian *thiasos*.

The trio of scenes on a cup by the Brygos Painter (Figs. 62 and 63) delineate the place of music in the Dionysian sphere.¹² In the tondo (Fig. 62), we find a rare representation of Dionysos himself playing an instrument: Clad in the exotic chiton and himation of the East, he strums a barbitos and lifts his face to the sky in song.¹³ Both the barbitos and the Eastern costume highlight Dionysos' own Eastern origins, but also connect him to the fashionably Ionicizing symposia of Athens. His tipped-back head implies energy and absorption into the performance (compare Fig. 3). Dancing satyrs with animal skins tied around their necks play krotala in percussion accompaniment; the association of Dionysos with rhythmic percussion instruments is consistent in both fifth-century literature and iconography. Krotala had been present in Athenian imagery for some time and continue to appear in Dionysian scenes throughout the fifth century, while tympana and kymbala appear with greater frequency around mid-century. Neither tympana, kymbala, nor krotala share the same musical value as stringed or wind instruments; they seem to have been favored in Dionysian and other cults mainly for their noise-making abilities.¹⁴ One of the dancing satyrs also holds a grapevine that activates much of the space around the figures, clearly emphasizing the relationship among music, wine, and the god.

The procession scenes on the exterior of the cup resemble a mortal komos with further revelry. Dionysos walks alongside a donkey as satyrs and nymphs cavort about. One of the satyrs plays a barbitos, his head tipped back in song as he follows the god.¹⁵ This satyr wears Thracian boots, which gives a setting for the occasion but may also recall the musical reputation of Thrace itself.¹⁶ On the reverse (Fig. 63), another satyr plays a barbitos and sings, while a third plays the aulos. The barbitos and aulos are the most frequently depicted instruments in Dionysian scenes; less common are the concert kithara and phorminx.¹⁷ Two nymphs frame the Brygos Painter's scene, dancing with their arms outstretched in the so-called wing-sleeves pose, which itself suggests a loss of abandon or control.¹⁸

Music plays an important role not only in the more iconic scenes of the *thiasos* like the Brygos Painter's cup, but also in specific narratives from the god's life. Among these, the Return of Hephaistos enjoyed a particular longevity in Athenian iconography, first appearing on the François Vase of Kleitias and Ergotimos in the early sixth century. There the Return featured musical elements in the form of an aulos-playing satyr and a nymph with kymbala – the only known representation of kymbala predating the fifth century – with the hilarity of the revel forming a significant counterpoint to the more sedate wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis in the register above. Music and song in scenes of the Return evoke the mortal komos; in the early fifth century Douris makes the connection between the two explicit on a cup featuring the Return on one side and a komos on the other.¹⁹ On a calyx krater



62. Interior of a cup by the Brygos Painter with Dionysos and satyrs; ca. 490–480 B.C. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (576). Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

by the Kleophrades Painter (Figs. 64 and 65), two ithyphallic satyrs – one playing the aulos, the other a barbitos – flank Dionysos, while on the opposite side another aulos-playing satyr and a satyr playing a large kithara follow Hephaistos, who is mounted on his donkey.²⁰ The artist even includes a musical pun: A satyr above one of the handles plays an aulos while carrying a bellows, which in Greek is *aulos*.²¹ This scene is one of a small group showing satyrs with kitharas, a definite rebuttal to the theory that the kithara was a uniquely Apolline instrument.²² Only satyrs play the kithara, not nymphs, recalling the restriction of this instrument to men in “real life.” Although it has been suggested that the kithara-playing satyrs reflect the usage of the kithara in Dionysian cult, there is not sufficient evidence to support such an assertion.²³ Perhaps kithara-playing satyrs lampoon figures familiar from other scenes, such as the kithara-playing Apollo or mortal professional musicians.

The presence of satyrs playing music in Dionysian imagery likely carries additional meaning beyond hilarity and jest. As has been demonstrated, the ubiquitous satyrs on Athenian vases signify the animalistic side of human behavior, their antics ultimately communicating a message of moderation.²⁴ Ithyphallic satyrs playing instruments link sexual arousal to music in a way not unlike the more erotic of the sympotic scenes; the plate by Epiktetos discussed earlier (Fig. 23 in Chap. 2) graphically makes this point, with an aulos case suspended from the satyr's erect penis. From the sixth century onward, frontal- and oblique-faced satyr musicians are fairly common on both black- and red-figure vases, further contributing to the sense of *enthousiasmos*. On an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Fig. 66) a frontal-faced satyr plays the aulos and stares directly out at the viewer as the god and his companions circle the vase in a raucous procession.²⁵ However, a curious scene on a pelike by the Geras Painter suggests that satyrs, like any naughty schoolboy, could pay the price for too many musical hijinks: Here a meek satyr grasping auloi is about to be punished by a sandal-wielding Dionysos.²⁶

Certain scenes of Dionysos and his *thiasos* bring up another, more serious aspect of Dionysian existence: *mania*, or madness. The madness possessed either by the god himself or by followers in his name is an *enthousiasmos* that goes beyond mere drunkenness to a completely altered, extreme state. It has been proposed that images of the mad Dionysos allude directly to the narrative episode of madness brought



63. Exterior side of the cup in Fig. 62 with followers of Dionysos. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



64. Calyx krater by the Kleophrades Painter with Dionysos and his followers participating in the Return of Hephaistos; ca. 500–490 B.C. Cambridge, MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of Frederick M. Watkins (1960.236). Photo: Museum Photographic Services, © 2004 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

to him by his stepmother Hera, but whether they are meant to be a specific story or more general evocations of *mania*, such images certainly evoke a darker side of the god.²⁷ Music sometimes figures prominently: On a Mannerist pelike in London (Fig. 67), Dionysos dances before an altar, a rent fawn in his hands, as a nymph dances and a satyr plays the aulos.²⁸ A nymph wields the two halves of another rent fawn on an amphora by the Achilles Painter; here one nymph plays the aulos as the Dionysian procession marches across the vase, and another plays a tympanon.²⁹ The presence of the tympanon – one of the earliest occurrences of this instrument in Athenian vase painting – signals the more ecstatic nature of the scene, as does the presence of a snake-carrying nymph with three-quarter-view face. The rent fawn clearly brings us into the realm of *mania*. We even see the rather incongruous inclusion of music in a graphic scene of the death of Pentheus, the ultimate episode of maenadic *mania*. On one side of an exquisite cup by Douris showing the story, a satyr plays the aulos for the seated Dionysos as three maenads, two with frontal

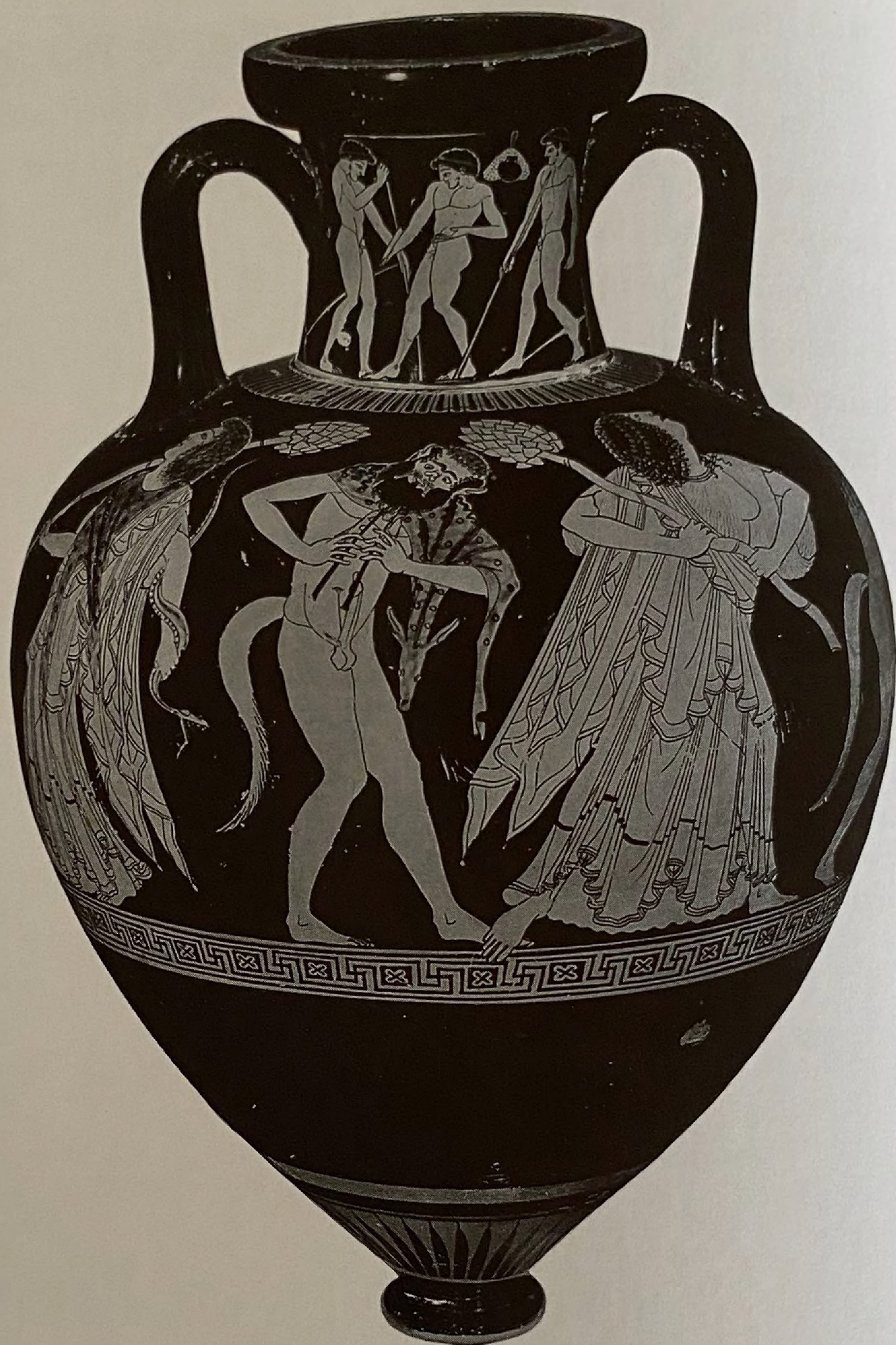
faces, dance about with Pentheus' body parts.³⁰ These scenes remind the viewer not only of the darker side of Dionysos, but of music itself.

The range of behaviors found in Dionysian scenes – dismemberment aside – is echoed in images of the symposion and komos, with mortal revelers serving as earthly counterparts to the satyrs and nymphs. The sympotic environment afforded vase painters many opportunities to explore the effects of music on individuals, indicated by such details as gesture and expression. One such gesture, in which a listener holds his or her hand to uplifted head, appears on a stamnos by Smikros (Fig. 68).³¹ Paired with an auletris named by inscription as Helike (a pun on Mount Helikon?), the symposiast – perhaps a tongue-in-cheek “self-portrait” of Smikros himself, judging from the strategic location of the inscription *Smikros* forming an arc around his elbow and the repetition of the name in *Smikros egraphsen* above³² – is oblivious to his surroundings, his eyes wide and gazing into space. His uptilted head forms a counterpoint to Helike's own raised head, just as the line of her aulos flows into the arch of his bent forearm. He holds a kylix, but he seems enraptured by music as much as by drink.³³ The painter equates the effects of music and wine still further through the vase's composition; the central, vertical placement of Helike on



65. Reverse of the krater in Fig. 64, with Return of Hephaistos. Photo: Museum Photographic Services, © 2004 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

66. Pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter with Dionysos and his followers, detail of satyr playing aulos; ca. 500–490 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (8732). Photo: Museum (Christa Koppermann).



the obverse mirrors the prominent appearance of a large dinos on the reverse, where wine is being mixed by two attendants. So too in the tondo of a cup by Douris, discussed in the previous chapter (Fig. 45), the reclining symposiast listening to a youth's aulos music has his hand placed upon his tipped-back head. Douris' reveler, however, seems to have greater control of himself than Smikros', judging from his eyes, which are fixed on the performer, and the song issuing from his mouth.

A later stamnos by Polygnotos (Fig. 54) likewise includes a symposiast with hand to uplifted head, placed alongside a standing female auletris as on the Smikros stamnos.³⁴ The second symposiast in the scene has his own dramatic reaction to the aulos music: Holding his unplayed barbitos in one hand and kylix in the other, he stares out with a three-quarter-view face, an unusual pose that first appears in Athenian vase painting at the end of the Archaic period.³⁵ We have already seen the three-quarter-view face for a Muse (Fig. 18) and a mortal Athenian woman (Fig. 59). In those cases, the performers themselves are lost in their own music, whereas on

the Polygnotos stamnos it is a listener. Given the sympotic context of the latter – and thus the inclusion of wine in the equation – the Polygnotan image carries a particular resonance.

Whereas oblique-faced musicians are new to the fifth century, frontal-faced musicians appeared much earlier, as for example the Muse Kalliope on the François Vase and symposiasts, komasts, and satyrs elsewhere.³⁶ One of the earliest red-figure examples of a frontal-faced mortal listener appears on a calyx krater by Euphronios (Fig. 69), in which a frontal-faced drinker named Thoudemos listens to an auletris, a phorminx and aulos case suspended in the field beside him.³⁷ His companions have their own range of responses to the music: Melas raises his hand to his ear to hear better, Smikros (the vase painter?) reaches out toward the auletris in appreciation,³⁸ and Ekphantides at far right with his arm arched over his head spiritedly sings a *skolion* (“Oh Apollo, you and the blessed . . .”).³⁹ On the hydria by Euthymides discussed in the previous chapter, the wreathed, aulos-playing reveler



67. Unattributed pelike with Dionysos before an altar, nymph, and satyr playing aulos; ca. 480–470 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 362). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.



68. Stamnos by Smikros with symposion; ca. 510–500 B.C. Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History (A 717). Photo: Museum.

has a frontal face, while his two comrades mix wine in a krater (Fig. 51).⁴⁰ The juxtaposition here between the playing of music and the mixing of wine recalls the belief that harmonic proportions of the mixed wine are akin to the harmonic proportions of musical scales. The Ashby Painter represents a similar frontal-faced aulos player, reclining together with a man holding a barbitos and another man exhibiting the hand-to-upturned-head gesture.⁴¹ The dramatically puffed cheeks of this symposiast indicate the vigorous nature of his performance. Frontal-faced musicians and listeners continue to appear in sympotic scenes of the Classical period, albeit in fewer numbers.⁴² It is perhaps significant that, in most cases throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, the instrument in question is an aulos; one is reminded of Aristotle's later conjecture that the aulos "excites the emotions" (*Politics* 1341a).⁴³

One finds musical elements in the even more abandoned moments of the symposion and komos, including wild dance performances and erotic love-play. Predictably, the female musical entertainers often take center stage as instruments of sexual pleasure as well as musical entertainment, especially in scenes of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. On an amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Fig. 70),

the nude auletris at right reaches out with her instrument to tease the penis of a nude male komast, the angle of the aulos mimicking an erection.⁴⁴ Another nude auletris has completed her musical performance and joins a symposiast on a couch on a cup in the manner of the Gales Painter (Fig. 24); she still grasps the auloi as the young man's hand moves to her breasts. Scenes of heterosexual copulation sometimes take place to musical accompaniment, and other scenes give more deviant behavior a musical twist.⁴⁵ Thus on a cup by Oltos, a nude hetaira masturbates with a pointed amphora while clutching two auloi,⁴⁶ while on a hydria near the Dikaioi Painter, a youth plays the aulos as a naked woman urinates into a pot.⁴⁷ The majority of such graphically erotic scenes belong to the Archaic period, when sympotic imagery was at its height. They attest to the prostitute status (real or perceived) of many of the professional female entertainers who frequented the symposia, while also suggesting the immoderation that could be induced by music itself.

Scenes of dance in the context of the symposion, and especially the komos procession that preceded and ended the festivities, also provided an opportunity for vase painters to convey abandon and ecstasy with musical accompaniment. In the tondo of a kylix by the Foundry Painter (Fig. 52), a youth plays the chelys lyre and sings while his older companion, grasping a staff as a sign of his social



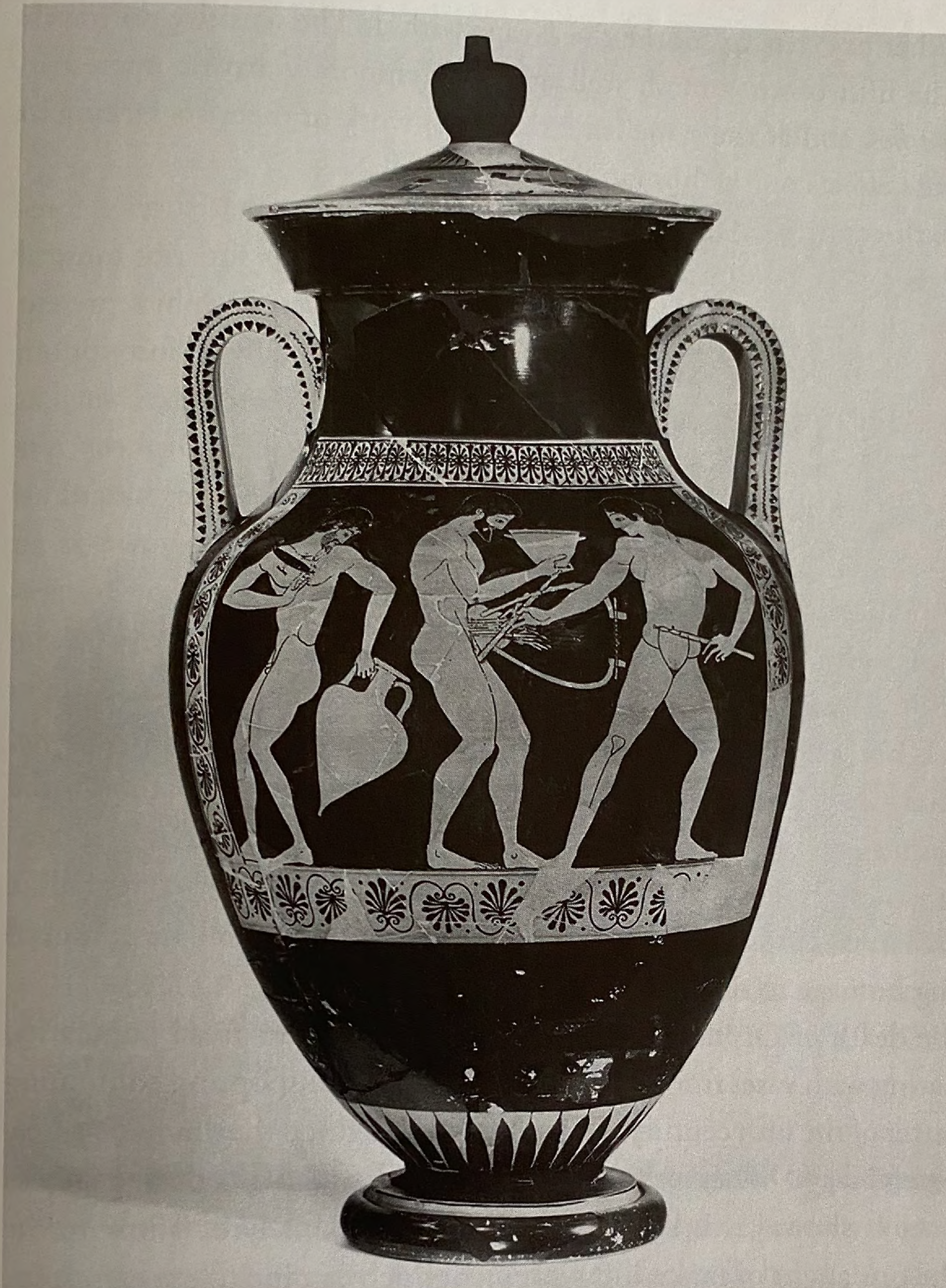
69. Calyx krater by Euphronios with symposion; ca. 510–500 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (8935). Photo: Museum.

status, dances wildly. The exterior (Fig. 11) presents a rowdy assortment of dance movements, set to the music of several instruments: a barbitos player, aulete, and player of krotala on one side, an auletris on the other. There is no coordination here; each reveler dances to his own sense of rhythm. The complete loss of control among the komasts is suggested not only by the exaggerated dance steps, but also by such details as the far-flung head of the krotala player and the frontal face of a komast holding a skyphos. The man vomiting at the far right of one side shows the price of overindulgence.⁴⁸

What messages are there to be found in the Dionysian and sympotic scenes regarding music? Perhaps the prominence of music in the imagery not only reflects the actual, constant presence of music in the mortal symposion, but also proclaims its potential duality, like that of wine and Dionysos himself. We may also speculate whether the imagery comments on the cathartic potentials of music, in the same way that wine was perceived to have cathartic benefits among some Greek medical and philosophical theorists.⁴⁹ Plato melds music, dance, and wine in his discussion of *katharsis* in the *Laws* (Books One and Two in particular), while Aristotle says in his *Politics* (1341b) that "music should be used to give benefits of several sorts, not just one: it should aim at both education and *katharsis*."⁵⁰ Aristotle continues: "we observe that when people make use of melodies that greatly excite the soul . . . they are put right again, just as if they had been given medication and purgation [*katharsis*]." He believes that the type of music that would induce *katharsis* is best provided by professional musicians and entertainers, with the listener receiving the beneficial effects. For Plato, wine can act as a drug [*pharmakon*], producing drunkenness and disorder but yielding an allopathic result, the restoration of *sophrosyne* in the soul; this idea, expressed in the *Laws*, builds on Classical medical and psychological theory. Textual evidence for belief in musical *katharsis* does not survive for the fifth century B.C., but the imagery provides its own compelling evidence that such ideas existed. Dionysos, his wine, and his music take the drinker-listener to the edge of disorder, but through that disorder ultimately bring harmony.

ETHOS AND PATHOS IN THE IMAGERY OF ORPHEUS

The complex character of music and its effects on listeners and spectators are eloquently expressed in images of Orpheus, a mythological poet variously described in literary sources as the son of Apollo (or at least as his follower), the Muse Kalliope, or Oïagros of Thrace.⁵¹ Whereas in the sixth century images of Orpheus are few and far between, they escalate dramatically with the advent of the fifth century; fifth-century artists, however, are selective in their choice of stories. Although the tale of Orpheus



70. Amphora by the Kleophrades Painter with revelers, including woman with aulos; ca. 500–490 B.C. Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (L 507). Photo: Museum (K. Oehrlein).

and Eurydike is attested in contemporary literature (Euripides, *Alkestis* 357–62), it does not appear in art until the fourth century, most notably in South Italian vase painting; similarly, the theme of Orpheus among the animals is not found until the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵² Athenian vase painters focus instead on the sequence of events surrounding the death of the poet at the hands of Thracian women. Earlier in the century, scenes of Orpheus' death are the most frequent; later these are joined by representations of Orpheus playing music among the Thracian men and scenes of the oracular head of the poet, still powerful after death. In the episodes that artists choose to depict, we find ample, often poignant, expression of

music's ability either to excite or soothe the savage within. The sensitive portrayals of Orpheus in the fifth century mesh well with contemporary artistic interest in both *ethos* and *pathos*, and at the same time recall the work of theorists seeking to understand music's effects on the human psyche.

Although sixth-century images of Orpheus are rare, those that survive foreshadow his later popularity and testify to an existing belief in his superior musical abilities. The "ship Argo" metopes of the Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi represent the earliest known depiction of Orpheus in Greek art; identified by an inscription, he plays his lyre as the ship sails through treacherous waters.⁵³ Later texts, such as the Hellenistic epic *Argonautica* by Apollonios of Rhodes, state that Orpheus' lyre and strong voice helped protect the Argonauts from the seductive yet hazardous song of the Sirens.⁵⁴ Despite his role in the quest, Orpheus is not shown as an Argonaut again in Greek art. More capricious perhaps is the earliest known representation of Orpheus in Athenian vase painting, a black-figure oinochoe with the cheerful inscription *Chaire Orpheus* [Greetings, Orpheus!].⁵⁵ Here he participates in a musical contest, holding a seven-stringed concert kithara and mounting a *bema*. This unique scene recalls contemporary images of kitharodes participating in the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*; since no literary sources describe Orpheus as a contestant in a formal *agon*, it may be intended as a witty play on other iconographic representations. It is even possible that this figure is not Orpheus at all, but a mortal contestant paying homage to the legendary poet.

Scenes of the death of Orpheus are the first to achieve widespread popularity, evidently originating with vases from the Brygos Painter's workshop and continuing until the last quarter of the fifth century.⁵⁶ Vase painters heighten the dramatic *pathos* of the story in several ways. Whether only one Thracian woman or a throng attacks Orpheus, the poet is shown as inherently defenseless save his lyre, falling to the ground under the onslaught of makeshift weapons, which can include spears, spits, rocks, daggers, or sickles. The ethnic identity of the women is often made clear by their dress and especially their tattoos, but the painters characteristically represent Orpheus as Greek, despite his Thracian heritage.⁵⁷ The visual contrasts between Thracian and Greek, musical instrument and weapons, drive the scenes and bring them into the realm of tragedy.

In some, mostly earlier, scenes of his death, Orpheus runs or falls with a hand outstretched appealing for mercy, the lyre held in his other hand.⁵⁸ On a cup by the Painter of Louvre G 265 (Fig. 71), the slumped body of Orpheus forms the central focus of the composition. The negative space above his head, together with the strong diagonals of the spear embedded in his chest and the spears at right, immediately leads the viewer's eye to Orpheus' dazed face and pleading gesture.⁵⁹ The chelys lyre held aloft by the poet in turn creates a visual counterpoint to the weapons brandished by his attackers: spears by three of the women, a boulder by the



71. Cup by the Painter of Louvre G 265 with death of Orpheus; ca. 480–470 B.C. Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery, William W. Taylor, Robert S. Dechant, and Israel and Caroline Wilson Endowments (1979.1). Photo: Museum.

fourth at immediate left. The blood pouring forth from Orpheus' wounds intensifies the *pathos* of the scene. On the reverse, five more Thracian women come rushing to the scene of the crime, sickles, axes, and spears in hand.

In the majority of cases, Orpheus holds the lyre above his head in a gesture not of pleading but of hopeless defense.⁶⁰ The musical instrument thus becomes both the physical and the metaphorical center of the composition.⁶¹ One of the Thracian women on a stamnos by the Dokimasia Painter (Fig. 72) plunges a sword into Orpheus' neck as he falls to his knees, his feeble attempts to fend her off with the lyre useless.⁶² Another stamnos by the same painter shows Orpheus falling to the ground pierced by sword and meat spit, with frontal face; this pose suggests Orpheus' loss of consciousness and perhaps ironically references frontal-faced musicians elsewhere.⁶³ The Phiale Painter depicted an abbreviated version of the scene at least three times, with a single Thracian woman confronting Orpheus; an amphora in Munich (Fig. 73) shows Orpheus attempting to run away as the menacing Thracian woman, wielding a sword with arms covered in arrow-shaped tattoos, lunges forward. Here his drapery slips away, revealing his genitals and emphasizing his vulnerability.⁶⁴

72. Stamnos by the Doki-masia Painter with death of Orpheus; ca. 470 B.C. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (BS 1411). Photo: Museum (Claire Niggli).



Although vase painters take an almost ghoulish delight in graphically portraying the death of Orpheus, they do not explicitly reveal the motives of the Thracian women for the murder. Several traditions survive, but the one most applicable to the vases says that the women kill Orpheus because he has distracted their husbands away from them by his music.⁶⁵ The compositional primacy given to the chelys lyre helps support this reasoning, together with the fact that some scenes of the death include one or two Thracian men in the composition. A lost play by Aischylos, the *Bassarides* (or *Bassarai*), produced circa 466–459 B.C. as part of a trilogy called the *Lykourgeia*, attributed the death of Orpheus to Dionysos; a later author, ostensibly referring to this play, states that “according to the poet Aischylos” Dionysos was angry because Orpheus ignored his cult in favor of the cult of Apollo–Helios, and inspired his maenads to attack him.⁶⁶ It seems impossible, however, to reconcile this version of the story to the vases; not only do the earliest scenes appear before the play was produced, but the women – although from the wild land of Thrace – are not attired as maenads. Other versions of the story suggest that the Thracian

women felt spurned by the still-mourning Orpheus after the death of Eurydike, or that they were angry because he had introduced homosexual activity among the men; however, these are attested later in the literature and are difficult to link to the fifth-century iconography.

If scenes of the death of Orpheus suggest the ability of music to induce rage, then the opposite is true of scenes of Orpheus playing music among the Thracian men before the attack, which emphasize the poet's performance and the spellbinding effects of his music.⁶⁷ This subject first appears on Athenian vases during the Early Classical period, as for example on a pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter.⁶⁸ About a dozen scenes survive today, and although varying in compositional details, they maintain the essential theme of the potential power of music over listeners.⁶⁹ The particular popularity of this subject in the period from circa 460 to 420 B.C. certainly recalls contemporary Athenian interest in musical *ethos*, as for example in the work of Damon. It may also be significant that the majority of these scenes appear on



73. Amphora by the Phiale Painter with Thracian woman attacking Orpheus; ca. 440–430 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (2330). Photo: Museum.



74. Column krater by the Orpheus Painter with Orpheus performing among the Thracian men; ca. 440 B.C. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (3172). Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

kraters, communal sympotic vessels *par excellence*. The theme of a harmonious gathering of men listening to musical performance becomes especially appropriate in such a context.

The finest and most expressive of these images appears on the name vase of the Orpheus Painter, today in Berlin (Fig. 74).⁷⁰ In exploring the intimate relationship between performer and spectator, the Orpheus Painter places special attention on the gestures and gazes uniting them. Orpheus sits on a rock in the center of the scene, his head thrown back in a dramatic gesture of song; the pose conveys the animation of the performance as well as the poet's engagement with his own music. Each of the four Thracian soldiers surrounding him, recognizable by their distinctive ethnic garb, reacts in a slightly different way. The two warriors at right are alert and intent, gazing directly at Orpheus with the one nearest propping his foot on the rock and his chin on his hand. In contrast, the two warriors at left seem lulled into weakness and submission; one leans on the shoulders of his companion as if in a state of complete relaxation. He does not look toward Orpheus, but downward into space. His companion appears with a frontal body and face and with closed eyes, implying total absorption into the music.

As the bare-chested Orpheus plays his lyre on a column krater by the Naples Painter (Fig. 75), not only three warriors but also a horse look on with intense concentration.⁷¹ One of the three soldiers props his foot on a rock, very similar to one of the warriors on the Orpheus Painter's krater. All three Thracians here, however, are attentive and alert, looking right at Orpheus and displaying none of the signs of relaxation found on the Berlin vase. The painter includes two additional, potentially revealing details, a tortoise and stone at the base of the outcropping upon which Orpheus sits. The tortoise [*chelys*] may be a visual pun for Orpheus' own *chelys* lyre; however, the tortoise and stone also recall references to Orpheus in



75. Column krater by the Naples Painter with Orpheus performing among the Thracian men; ca. 450 B.C. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (1968.79). Photo: Museum.

76. Bell krater by the Painter of London E 497 with Orpheus, a Thracian man, and a Thracian woman; ca. 440–430 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.30). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



fifth-century texts, in which he is described as having the power to enchant animals and even move rocks.⁷² The specific addition of the horse may be part of this message as well. Thus in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (1211–13), Iphigeneia proclaims, "Father, if I had the voice of Orpheus, to persuade by the magic of my singing, so that the rocks would follow me and I could charm with my words whoever I wished, then that is what I would do."⁷³

A few scenes that include a satyr among Orpheus' audience make a similar point, such as a column krater in Portland and a hydria in Paris, both by the Painter of Tarquinia 707.⁷⁴ Although it has been suggested that the satyrs reflect a theatrical inspiration, or even that the scenes depict a satyr play, there is no sound evidence for this theory.⁷⁵ More likely, the satyrs represent the true extent of Orpheus' abilities, able to reach into the wild, Dionysian realm.⁷⁶ Certainly we can contrast the polite, attentive demeanor of these satyrs with the more rough-and-tumble musical satyrs seen elsewhere in vase painting.

On a bell krater by the Painter of London E 497 (Fig. 76), the presence of a Thracian woman lends a particularly dramatic tension while serving as a premonition of Orpheus' eventual fate.⁷⁷ Although Orpheus himself typically appears in the center of these scenes, here a fully armed Thracian soldier acts as a mediator between the poet at left and a Thracian woman at right. Orpheus plays his lyre and is virtually oblivious to the proceedings, while the two Thracians converse and gesture to one another. The Thracian woman at first glance appears harmless, until

one notices the sickle discreetly grasped in her lowered hand. We might imagine that the Thracian warrior, having been soothed and inspired by the music of Orpheus' lyre, is attempting to convince the woman not to attack. Since the viewer knows his words will be in vain, the image – unique among surviving representations – has a certain poignancy.

A trio of surviving scenes dating from circa 440 to 420 B.C. take the story of Orpheus beyond his death, depicting the unusual subject of his severed, oracular head.⁷⁸ These images illustrate the enduring powers of Orpheus even after his untimely demise. The literary sources referring to the fate of the head are later than the vase paintings and do not always agree, but it appears that, after the murder, the Thracian women threw the head into the river, where it floated out to sea and eventually arrived at the island of Lesbos.⁷⁹ The earliest of the vases with the oracular head is a hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (Fig. 77), today in Basel⁸⁰; the other two examples are a hydria by the Painter of the Head of Orpheus⁸¹ and a cup by the Painter of Ruvo 1346.⁸²

In addition to being the earliest, the Polygnotan hydria (Fig. 77) is also the most iconographically complex. The scene stretches around the shoulder: The head of Orpheus, with long hair and large, wide eyes, rests on the ground near the center of



77. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos with oracular head of Orpheus; ca. 440–430 B.C. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (BS 481). Photo: Museum (Claire Niggli).

the scene. A bearded man reaches down to the head while at the right of the scene a Muse, who may be Orpheus' mother Kalliope, holds a lyre. These two figures and the head itself form one group. To the left are a pair of Muses, one seated on a rock at the far left, a lyre lying on the ground behind, and a standing Muse moving toward the head but looking back at the seated figure. She holds a pair of auloi in her left hand, but curiously, a plektron in her right. Three other Muses appear to the right of the central group of figures: one walking with a pair of auloi, one seated, and one standing while holding a lyre and plektron. Two proposals have been offered for the meaning of this scene: first, that the head is already speaking or singing prophecies, and the bearded man, possibly the poet Terpander, has come to consult the oracle.⁸³ A second proposal is that the scene represents the discovery of the head at the island of Lesbos, with the man about to pull it from the water as the Muses watch.⁸⁴

Scholars have commented on the ambiguities of the Orpheus myth, the differing accounts of his death being but one of them. Plato in the *Symposium* (179 DE) speaks of Orpheus as a coward, leading some to interpret scenes of the death of Orpheus as visualizations of this mindset.⁸⁵ Following current interest in the "Other," some have interpreted Orpheus as a type of "Other" himself, who has rejected "normal" society and for this has been punished.⁸⁶ Perhaps in post-fifth-century literary sources we do find ambiguity in accounts of Orpheus, doubtless influenced by attitudes toward the Orphic movement.⁸⁷ The fifth-century images, however, primarily portray him as a tragic figure who has met an ironic and unfortunate end through no fault of his own.⁸⁸ The fact that in almost all cases Orpheus is shown as Greek rather than Thracian suggests that the vase painters intended for their male audience to both identify and sympathize with the poet. So too Orpheus' near-nudity in most of the scenes gives him a heroic cast.⁸⁹ The chelys lyre itself – for the elite Athenian male a symbol of status and education – adds to the impact and the *pathos*. What unites all three of the episodes favored by fifth-century vase painters is the focus on Orpheus' powerful musical abilities, which charmed the Thracian men, ultimately led to his death, but lived on in the oracular head. Appropriate themes indeed, in a time and a place so concerned with music and character.

THAMYRIS: MUSIC AND *HUBRIS*

Music brings about Orpheus' destruction, despite his renowned talents. Contemporary scenes of Thamyris – another mythological Thracian musician – likewise present a musician's downfall, but with an important distinction: Thamyris (or in the Attic form, Thamyras) is not a victim, but a transgressor whose *hubris* has overcome him. Whereas Orpheus finds death at the hands of barbarian Thracian

women, Thamyras is punished for his presumptions by the Muses, patronesses and champions of *mousike*. The myth of Thamyras serves as a warning for viewers against *hubris* generally, but also introduces the possibility that music, when misused, can have a negative effect on one's character and actions.

The essential elements of Thamyris' story are first attested in Homer's *Iliad* as a brief mention in the "Catalogue of Ships" (2.594–600):

These were the men of Pteleos and Helos, and of Dorian, where the Muses met Thamyris the Thracian and put a stop to his singing, as he was going from the home of Oechalian Eurytus in Oechalia. For he had boasted that he would be victorious even if the Muses themselves, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, were singing. In their fury they struck him blind; they took away his divine gift of song, and made him forget his kitharist's skill.⁹⁰

Homer does not mention an actual *agon* or contest between Thamyris and the Muses, an element added with the passage of time. The *agon* is attested in fifth-century sources, such as Euripides' *Rhesos* (916–25), in which a Muse describes Thamyris' punishment for mocking the Muses and losing. Indeed, the *agon* becomes the central theme of fifth-century scenes of Thamyris, with painters considering the musician's moral choice and its consequences. No visual images of Thamyris survive at all until the Early Classical period; his sudden appearance at this time recalls contemporary interest not only in *ethos*, but also the interplay among *sophrosyne*, *hubris*, and *dike*. The punishment of Thamyris at the hands of the Muses forms a pendant to images of Apollo as *sophronistes* against such transgressors as Tityos, Niobe, and Marsyas. In creating one of the very first images of Thamyris, the *Nekyia* of the Knidian Lesche, the painter Polygnotos of Thasos made this connection by placing the blinded poet in the Underworld and the painting itself in Apollo's own sanctuary.

Scenes of Thamyris in vase painting are considerably fewer than scenes of Orpheus, somewhat surprising given the known production of the play *Thamyris* by Sophokles.⁹¹ Surviving fragments of the play show that the contest with the Muses constituted its focus. Of the attested scenes of Thamyris on vases, we can roughly distinguish two chronological groups: the first group, extending from approximately 470 to 430 B.C., includes a series of four vases with Thamyris playing his instrument among the Muses (Fig. 78), as well as a fifth Polygnotan vase depicting the blinded Thamyris after his punishment (Fig. 15).⁹² Sharing certain iconographic traits, these scenes are within the same time frame as Polygnotos' *Nekyia* and the Sophoklean play, and are thus likely influenced by one, the other, or both. A second group of five vases (one fragmentary) dates from the last quarter of the fifth century and on the whole represents a significant departure from the first group, particularly the three (or four?) that can be attributed to painters of the Meidian circle.⁹³



78. Hydria by the Phiale Painter with Thamyris and the Muses; ca. 440 B.C. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (16549). Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

On a fragmentary hydria generally attributed to the Niobid Painter, the earliest of the vases, a Thracian cap [*alopekis*] identifies the seated, mostly missing figure of Thamyris.⁹⁴ Only part of his instrument survives, so it is not clear whether he plays a chelys lyre, concert kithara, or so-called Thracian kithara. The Niobid Painter places the scene in a sanctuary, identifiable by an altar and three small aniconic statues [*xoana*] in the background. A tripod standing atop an Ionic column near the center of the scene further marks the space as sacred or else symbolizes an agonistic prize. One Muse plays the aulos as two others prepare to perform or perhaps have just finished: one with a chelys lyre, another with auloi. A second chelys lyre hangs in the field between two Muses at right, who appear to be in tense conversation.⁹⁵ The gestures of the Muses grant the scene an anticipatory feel, as if at the height of the *agon*.

It is noteworthy that the Niobid Painter and the other painters of our first group – the Phiale Painter, an undetermined Late Mannerist, and an undetermined member of the Group of Polygnotos – all portray Thamyris as distinctly Thracian. He wears the *alopekis* and Thracian cloak [*zeira*] on all but the

Polygnotan hydria; there he wears Thracian boots, still making his ethnicity clear, and he also has the so-called Thracian kithara. Although his Thracian characterization dates back to the *Iliad*, the decision to depict Thamyras in “native” clothes was a conscious one; Orpheus, also Thracian, was seldom shown in foreign costume. Perhaps the emphasis on Thamyras’ ethnicity was intended to highlight his indiscretions and provide a strong visual and ethical contrast with the quintessentially Greek Muses.

Two hydriai by the Phiale Painter in Naples and the Vatican (Fig. 78), while not exact copies of one another, are very similar.⁹⁶ Thamyras, although dressed as a Thracian, plays the chelys lyre. Both images include Thamyras’ mother Argiope (identified by inscription on the Vatican hydria), who rushes into the scene with a laurel branch as if to plead mercy for her son; *xoana* at the top of each scene again suggest a sacred space. Both feature two Muses; on the Vatican hydria they listen intently to the proceedings before them, while on the Naples vase they seem



79. Volute krater by Polion with contest of Thamyras; ca. 420 B.C. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina (3033/T127). Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich.

to deliberate together. The Muses on the Naples hydria carry musical instruments (auloi and a phorminx), whereas those on the Vatican hydria do not. The Vatican Muses do have an inscription over their heads – *choronika* – which may allude to a theatrical chorus and link the scene to the Sophoklean play.⁹⁷ An inscription over Argiope's head – *Euaion kalos* – on the Vatican hydria is also suggestive; Euaion is known from elsewhere as the son of the playwright Aischylos, perhaps even an actor.

Only the Polygnotan hydria in Oxford actually shows the aftermath of the contest and Thamyras' punishment (Fig. 15).⁹⁸ The blind poet sits dejectedly with his abandoned instrument lying by his side, a scene evocative of Pausanias' description of the *Nekyia*. Thamyras' still figure serves as the fulcrum of the composition, setting the two flanking figures in opposition. At right stands the calm figure of a Muse, a composed symbol of *dike*. Her chelys lyre contrasts strongly with the more foreign-looking, now-mute Thracian kithara. The emotional Argiope at left, clutching her head in horror as she regards her son, forms a deliberate contrast to the placidity of the Muse. The gestures of all three characters strongly communicate the *hubris* of Thamyras, admonishing the viewer not to follow his example.

A volute krater by Polion (Fig. 79), with a more complex composition than the vases previously considered, brings us into our second chronological group.⁹⁹ Some elements of the scene are reminiscent of earlier examples: the altar and *xoana*; the tripod; and the presence of Muses. However, Thamyras is attired not as a Thracian, but as a professional musician with long robes and concert kithara. Stately and dignified while playing his instrument, he is surrounded by Muses in various attitudes of listening, holding a full panoply of other instruments: harp, auloi, chelys lyres, barbitos, and even Thracian kithara (the only known case in which a woman plays the latter). Despite the apparent calm, the figure of Argiope before the altar, hands upraised in prayer, alerts the viewer to the agonistic theme of the scene and Thamyras' impending doom. Equally telling is the quiet figure of Apollo to the left of the scene, separated from Thamyras by the tripod; holding his laurel staff in lieu of a musical instrument, he appears not as a direct adversary of Thamyras but as a guarantor of justice and silent advocate of the *sophron* Muses.¹⁰⁰ It has been suggested that the scene evokes a now-lost dithyramb about Thamyras, perhaps performed at the festival of the Hephaisteia; this hypothesis results from the inclusion of the Return of Hephaistos on the opposite side, as well as a torch race [*lampadedromia*] around the vase's neck, an event featured at that festival.¹⁰¹ Or perhaps the Thamyras scene is unconnected to any specific literary source: Could it instead be a warning to professional musicians to observe *sophrosyne* and be mindful of the Muses, their patrons? The conflation of Thamyras' *agon* with the *lampadedromia* is intriguing; at the Panathenaia the torch race was a tribal event emphasizing teamwork and citizenship, a different kind of event than the *mousikoi agones*, which were open to non-Athenians and rewarded individual virtuosity. Could this be part of a

message of moderation? The juxtaposition with the Return of Hephaistos, with its intimations of excess, may also be meaningful in this regard.

The final four vases depicting Thamyris and dating from the end of the fifth century depart significantly from other scenes, downplaying and even abandoning the central themes of *agon*, *hubris*, and *dike*. The Meidias Painter's lekythos in Ruvo does include Apollo with Thamyris and the Muses, but the atmosphere is sumptuous and relaxed rather than tense and agonistic.¹⁰² Wearing luxuriant Orientalizing garments – which suggest foreignness without being exactly Thracian – Thamyris is surrounded by eight women in various postures of listening and lounging; musical instruments designate some of the women as Muses, but a trio of Erotes may identify two or three of them as Aphrodite and companions.¹⁰³ A similar mood is found on a fragmentary vessel in the National Museum at Athens, possibly Meidian, which includes not only Thamyris, Muses, and Apollo but also Mousaios, as well as on a hydria in the manner of the Meidias Painter and a possibly Meidian lekythos in Basel.¹⁰⁴ These four scenes transpose Thamyris into a peaceful setting celebrating the delights of music, comparing him with other mythological virtuosi rather than denouncing him. Such an attitude meshes well with the stylistic and iconographic interests of the Meidian painters, who downplay elements of violence and conflict in favor of more escapist images.¹⁰⁵

MARSYAS, THE MUSICAL SATYR

Like Thamyris, the satyr Marsyas makes his first appearance in Greek art during the fifth century B.C.: in Polygnotos' *Nekyia*, at least one sculpture group, and Athenian vase painting. The story of Marsyas also revolves around musical *hubris*, with the satyr's death coming after he brazenly challenges the god Apollo to an *agon*. The actual contest between Marsyas and Apollo, however, is not found in vase painting until the late fifth century; Marsyas' punishment, in which he was flayed alive, does not appear in art until the late fourth century and afterward. A second episode occurs earlier in Athenian art, although its representations are far fewer in number: the story in which Athena rejects the aulos and Marsyas takes it up.

Discerning the fifth-century meaning(s) of the Marsyas myth(s) is a daunting enterprise. Most literary references to Marsyas date after the fifth century, although in a few cases the authors claim to quote from fifth-century sources. These references are frequently contradictory and often seem to be supporting the author's own agenda. Thus we often find later texts correlating the contest between Marsyas and Apollo, or Athena's rejection of the aulos, to an ethical dichotomy between aulos and lyre. Modern scholarship has tended to accept these sentiments at face value, and then read backward to impose them on fifth-century Athens, but as we have

seen in earlier discussion of the aulos, the situation is not that simple. One must exercise caution with later literary sources and not ignore the possibility that they reflect different attitudes or are anachronistic in some way. The visual evidence, meanwhile, has an equally problematic set of issues surrounding it.

A small number of Marsyas representations from the fifth century have nothing to do with either the Apollo or Athena story. As noted earlier in this chapter, Polygnotos of Thasos represented Marsyas as a teacher in the *Nekyia*, instructing the young Olympos in the art of aulos playing. This is a rare scene in fifth-century iconography, appearing only here and in one surviving Athenian vase.¹⁰⁶ A few other Classical vases show Marsyas as an ordinary satyr musician, as for example a calyx krater by the Villa Giulia Painter with the Dionysian *thiasos*,¹⁰⁷ and a bell krater showing the Return of Hephaistos by an artist near the Hector Painter.¹⁰⁸ In both these instances, an inscription identifies Marsyas, but otherwise there is no reference to other mythological episodes.

The myth linking Athena and Marsyas is not attested in either art or literature prior to the fifth century, in Athens or anywhere else. In the *Twelfth Pythian Ode*, composed in honor of the victorious aulete Midas of Akragas, Pindar credits Athena with the invention of aulos music, specifically the composition known as the “many-headed” *nomos* [*polykephalos nomos*], but gives no indication that she later rejected the instrument.¹⁰⁹ One representation of Athena playing the aulos survives from the late sixth century on a black-figure amphora; she is joined there by Herakles playing the kithara, the two of them likely evoking the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*.¹¹⁰ Again, there is no reference to her rejection of the instrument. Alleged quotations from two fifth-century dithyrambs, preserved in Athenaios’ *Deipnosophistae*, form our earliest literary evidence for the story, although the two fragments directly contradict each other in content. A speaker in the *Deipnosophistae* first refers to a dithyramb by the poet Melanippides of Melos:

On the subject of auloi, someone said that Melanippides had ridiculed aulos-playing splendidly in his [dithyramb] *Marsyas*, when he said of Athena: “Athena threw the instruments from her holy hand and said ‘Away, shameful things, defilers of my body! I do not give myself to ugliness.’”¹¹¹

Later in the same passage, a second speaker discusses the poet Telestes of Selinus and his own composition, the *Argo*, saying that this poet disagreed with Melanippides’ version of the story:

Someone else responded by saying ‘But Telestes of Selinus hit back at Melanippides in his *Argo*: speaking of Athena he said: “When the clever goddess had picked up the clever instrument in the mountain thickets,

I cannot believe in my mind that she, divine Athena, frightened by the ugliness unpleasant to the eye, threw it away from her hands to be a glory for Marsyas, that handclapping creature born from a nymph. Why would sharp passion for love-inducing beauty have worried her, to whom Clotho had allotted virginity, marriageless and childless?" . . . He goes on: "But this is an empty story, unfit for choruses."¹¹²

These two quotations, while establishing that the story of Athena and Marsyas was well known in fifth-century Athens, present us with a caveat when it comes to interpreting its meaning. Clearly there was not a single version on which everyone agreed, and one would do well to remember just how malleable Greek myths could be.¹¹³

The most well-known work of art depicting the Athena and Marsyas story was an alleged statue group by the sculptor Myron, which would have been created around mid-century.¹¹⁴ Pliny (*Natural History* 34.57) describes "a satyr looking at the auloi and a Minerva," which is usually taken as evidence for a Myronian group.¹¹⁵ Pausanias (1.24) mentions a statue group standing on the Athenian Akropolis in his day; however, he does not name its sculptor, and his description differs: "In this place has been made an Athena striking the Silenos Marsyas for taking up the auloi when the goddess wanted them to be cast away for good."¹¹⁶ Many have been eager to correlate the two accounts and identify Myron's group with the one on the Akropolis. This cannot, however, be proven based on the present evidence. One would need to accept that one of the two authors misunderstood the group, if they were the same piece. As an alternative, some scholars postulate *two* statue groups, suggesting that while Myron's is a fifth-century group with original location unknown, the one seen by Pausanias on the Athenian Akropolis may be a later work.¹¹⁷

Further confounding the problem are Roman marble statues of a satyr and Athena, of which the best-known and best-preserved are figures of Athena in Frankfurt and the Vatican and a satyr in the Vatican (Fig. 80).¹¹⁸ The Vatican satyr either recoils or dances; although his arms are missing, the right would have been upraised, the left lowered. The relatively calm Athena stands with frontal body and slightly bent left leg, looking to her left and slightly downward. These figures, although not found together, have been compared with an unattributed red-figure oinochoe in Berlin, whose Athena and Marsyas do bear a striking resemblance (Fig. 81); here Athena at left has just tossed the auloi, shown in midair, while Marsyas jumps back in surprise and delight.¹¹⁹

Only two other surviving fifth-century vases directly allude to Athena's rejection of the aulos. A fragment stylistically close to the Phiale Painter, discovered on the Akropolis, preserves only the lower part of Athena's body, Marsyas' foot and lower leg, and one of the fallen auloi.¹²⁰ The provenance of the fragment provides tempting evidence for a possible Myronian group on the Akropolis. A bell krater in Ruvo,



80. Athena and Marsyas, Roman marble statues possibly adapted from a fifth-century B.C. statue group. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

stylistically related to the Pothos Painter, may depict the version in which Athena strikes Marsyas.¹²¹

Why did the episode of Athena and Marsyas appear in fifth-century Athenian art? From comparisons with the *Deipnosophistae* fragment previously quoted, it has been suggested that Melanippides' *Marsyas* dithyramb inspired both sculpture and vase painting.¹²² It has even been proposed that Melanippides himself was responsible for the commissioning of Myron's group.¹²³ Certainly a literary or theatrical influence cannot be ruled out, despite the very limited evidence at our disposal. More problematic are theories ascribing a political or ideological impetus to the

Athena–Marsyas representations. Peter Wilson argues in a recent article that the Myronian group (which he places on the Akropolis) “fixed in the permanency of bronze the explosive moment of the goddess’ rejection,” thus making it clear to all Athenians that “those who take up the aulos in Athens are thereafter aligned implicitly on the side of the satyr.”¹²⁴ The problems of identifying the group notwithstanding, such an argument is difficult to sustain on at least two significant counts. First, we have seen that there were multiple versions of the story circulating in fifth-century Athens. Second, the visual evidence shows that the aulos was *not* unilaterally rejected, appearing as it does in contemporary scenes of sacrifice, the Muses, and so on. Indeed, just a few years later, auletes appear on the Parthenon frieze alongside kithara players, in a monumental context both civic and sacred.¹²⁵ Equally tenuous are the proposals that the Athena–Marsyas story is a metaphor for political conflict between Athens and Thebes; although several famous aulos players were Theban, and the Athenians associated virtuosity in the instrument with Thebes (as for example a comic view in Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 15–16), Marsyas himself has no Theban connection whatsoever.¹²⁶

Exploration of the Apollo–Marsyas *agon* as it appears in the fifth century may shed some light on the problem. Although the Athena–Marsyas story was



81. Unattributed oinochoe with Athena and Marsyas; ca. 440 B.C. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (2418). Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

82. Bell krater by the Pothos Painter with contest of Marsyas; ca. 420–410 B.C. London, The British Museum (1920.6–13.2). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.



short-lived in Athenian iconography, the contest between the satyr and Apollo, which first appears in the second half of the fifth century, has a longer life. The earliest surviving mention we have of the story is in Herodotos (7.26), who in his discussion of Phrygia describes the place where Marsyas' flayed skin hangs (although he does not mention the *agon*). Post-fifth-century authors recount the *agon* with much variation; some say Apollo won because he could sing and play his instrument simultaneously whereas the aulos-playing Marsyas could not, others that Apollo won by turning his kithara upside down.

Whereas Hellenistic and Roman sculpture groups focus on the punishment of Marsyas, Classical Athenian vases concentrate instead on the satyr's performance and the actual *agon*. Most examples are attributable to the Kadmos and Pothos Painters; however, even these exhibit enough variation to suggest that they did not have a single prototype.¹²⁷ Marsyas typically sits on a rock with his musical instrument, while Apollo and other deities gather around him to listen. The majority of the

scenes depict Marsyas playing the aulos, as one might expect (Fig. 82).¹²⁸ However, in a few cases, he instead plays a kithara or chelys lyre, a puzzling departure from tradition unattested in the literary sources.¹²⁹ It has been suggested that the latter reflects a now-lost version of the story, an alternative ending in which Marsyas' punishment consisted of his adoption of the victor's instrument.¹³⁰

Apollo does not play an instrument at all in these scenes, and in only a few examples does he hold a lyre. The god does characteristically have a laurel staff, which, along with his standing pose, highlights his authority as a guarantor of *dike*. In at least two instances, the contest is made explicit by the presence of a tripod, which suggests Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi but also signifies an agonistic prize.¹³¹ Different deities accompany the central duo, depending on the whims of the vase painter: the Muses, Artemis, Hermes, or Athena, the latter perhaps harkening back to the earlier episode of the myth.¹³²

A volute krater by the Kadmos Painter, today in Ruvo, presents the most elaborate fifth-century depictions of Marsyas (Fig. 83).¹³³ On one side of the neck, the



83. Volute krater by the Kadmos Painter with scenes of Marsyas; ca. 420–410 B.C. Ruvo, Museo Jatta (1093). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 64.1038, Koppermann).

seated Marsyas plays the aulos before the standing Apollo with laurel staff; Artemis with a pair of torches, Hermes with kerykeion, and a dancing satyr complete the scene. The second satyr's pose, perhaps suggesting the *enthousiasmos* that can be induced by music, recalls Marsyas on the Berlin oinochoe (Fig. 81). A palm tree reminds the viewer of Delos, the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. Marsyas also forms the focus of the scene below, along with an elaborate tripod and the goddess Athena, whose downward-cast arm implies authority. Here Marsyas plays a concert kithara, one of the few occasions when he plays a stringed instrument rather than an aulos; a large palm tree frames his figure and echoes the palm in the scene above. Other mythological characters gather in groups: a pair of women, possibly Muses; a young satyr and Dionysian nymph with thyrsos; Hermes with a winged Nike. Just below them Apollo reclines and Artemis leans on her brother's shoulder, her characteristic deer beneath. In contrast to the scene on the neck, where Apollo stands with hand on hip, confrontationally watching Marsyas, on the body he is relaxed and attentive.

The relationship between the scenes on neck and body is difficult to ascertain. They may comprise two episodes of a single narrative, with the neck showing the *agon* and the body the result: a submissive Marsyas, forced to play the kithara as punishment. However, there are no surviving literary references to such a version of the story. The reverse of the krater is suggestive: The neck depicts a sacrifice scene before a herm, with an aulete accompanying the proceedings and forming a striking pendant to the aulos-playing Marsyas on the opposite side. The body shows Dionysos and his retinue, including not only nymphs and satyrs (who are given names in inscriptions), but also Eros, Himeros, and Pothos. A *silenos* provides aulos music at the right, while the repetition of a tripod at the bottom implies a thematic connection with the Marsyas scene on the obverse.¹³⁴ Perhaps here, as has been proposed for Polion's Thamyris krater, we are seeing references to a festival on one side of the vase and the subject of a dithyramb on the other.

Whether there is a literary or theatrical inspiration for the Kadmos Painter's volute krater or not, one could read its scenes more broadly. The image of Marsyas playing the aulos suggests the "wrong" kind of music, inspiring excessive *enthousiasmos* while the gods watch in disapproval. On the body, where Marsyas plays his kithara, the gods are less hostile: This is the "right" kind of music. Such a reading does not, however, suggest that the aulos is inferior to the kithara, for on the other side aulos playing is presented on both neck and body as a positive experience, related on the one hand to ritual activity and on the other to the conduct of leisure. Other scenes of Apollo and Marsyas can be interpreted in the same fashion. Although later authors use the *agon* for their own purposes to justify certain musical ideas or tastes, there was not a universal feeling that the story indicated any superiority of stringed over wind instruments.¹³⁵ Perhaps the Marsyas scenes, like

images of Thamyras and even the more raucous sympotic scenes discussed at the beginning of this chapter, can be read more generally as cautionary tales advocating moderation in the playing of music. Thamyras' offense did not lie in the instrument he played, but in his *hubris* in challenging the Muses. While fifth-century imagery does not include explicit references to Marsyas' own punishment, nonetheless the viewer, knowing the story, would be able to make this connection.

HARMONIA AND THE LIFE OF THE CITY

Like its English cognate, the Greek word *harmonia* encompassed harmony of all kinds: musical, social, political, and even marital. Originally, *harmonia* described a “joining together” in a literal sense, for example of wooden planks or beams in the *Odyssey* (5.248). *Harmonia* first attained a musical dimension in the late sixth century to signify the “joining together” of musical notes, with the first extant usage being a fragment of text by the kitharode and theorist Lasos of Hermione.¹ The *harmoniai* are the various modes of music defined during the late sixth and fifth centuries, for example the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian modes discussed by such subsequent authors as Plato, Aristotle, and Aristides Quintilianus.² *Harmonia* could also refer to the literal, physical act of tuning a musical instrument.

Harmonia further indicated any kind of equilibrium, building on the original meaning of “joining together.” Ideas about numerical ratios and their application in the universe were the particular interest of the pre-Socratic philosopher Pythagoras of Samos and his followers during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., upheld by later generations of Pythagoreans.³ The Pythagoreans believed in the harmony [*harmonia*] of the cosmos, regulated by numerical ratios equivalent to the ratios of the musical scale.⁴ Some even theorized that the planets themselves emitted musical sounds in accordance with these primary ratios. While it is difficult to reconstruct early Pythagorean thought from the numerous later sources, at the very least it can be said that the early Pythagoreans interested themselves in the mystical and cosmological relevance of number theory and *harmonia*. Some aspect of fifth-century Pythagorean belief may be present, for example, in the pseudo-Plutarchian text *De Musica* (1147a):

... my friends, we have left out the most important point, and the one which especially displays music as something of the most serious significance: for it was said by the schools of Pythagoras, Archytas, and Plato, as well as by the other philosophers of ancient times, that the motion of that which is, and the movement of the stars, come about and have their constitution

through the influence of music: everything, they say, was constructed by God on the basis of *harmonia*.⁵

Harmonia is given a social and political application in some fifth-century texts, referring to the order, stability, and equilibrium of the *polis*.⁶ In Aischylos' *Prometheus* (550–1), the word *harmonia* signifies a civic and cosmic order created by Zeus. Later, in Plato's *Republic* (432a), Sokrates suggests that the virtue of *sophrosyne* is like a unifying force, a *harmonia* within the city, enabling both weak and strong citizens to "blend their voices and sing the same thing."⁷ This aspect of *harmonia* is paralleled in the terms *eunomia* [good order] and *symphonia* [concord], which are likewise part of musical terminology and yet can express political ideas.⁸ The word *eunomia* derives from *nomos*, which means not only "song" (specifically certain structured types of musical works), but also "law" or "custom."⁹ *Symphonia* can signify not only concord, agreement, or harmony among musical notes, but also among people.¹⁰ *Harmonia*, *symphonia*, and *eunomia* all imply "a composite that was well-ordered, balanced, and adhered to the requirements of *dike*." The verb from which *harmonia* derives is also used in fifth-century texts to mean "to betroth," "to marry," or "to kiss," suggesting the joining together of two people in a marital equilibrium.¹¹

Finally, the principle of *harmonia* was applied to the soul itself, with the idea that ethical balance within the soul was an ideal form of *harmonia*. This concept of *harmonia* possibly originated with the early Pythagoreans, but is echoed in Late Classical texts, especially those of Aristotle and Plato, and the neo-Pythagorean writings of the Hellenistic period. In the *Phaedo* (86b), Sokrates and Simmias discuss the soul as a *harmonia* composed of and held together by tensions and opposites, such as hot and cold, dry and wet. Aristotle in *De anima* (407b) states the opinion "handed down" that the soul is a *harmonia*, in terms of "a blending and putting together of opposites, and the body is constituted out of opposites." This same concept is restated in the *Politics* (1340b): "Hence many of the wise say, some of them that the soul is a *harmonia*, others that it contains a *harmonia*."¹² In this aspect of *harmonia*, found also in Plato's discussion of the *harmonia* and *sophrosyne* of the *polis* in the *Republic* (431e–432a), we may also see an oblique reference to the individual virtue of *sophrosyne*. If *sophrosyne* implies moderation and self-control, then it would follow that the possession of *sophrosyne* implies an attainment of *harmonia*.

Consideration of literary sources well demonstrates that *harmonia* in all its forms comprised a significant element of Classical Athenian thought. Indeed, the ideals of *harmonia* and *eunomia* colored fifth-century Athenian perceptions and representations of the world in many ways. If we consider musical imagery, we find that musical instruments and performance often serve as metaphors for larger concepts of *harmonia*: the *harmonia* present in relationships between mortals and

gods, between mortals themselves, even extending to the relationships between husband and wife. Thus we see music in scenes of sacrifices and other rituals; in the performances associated with musical contests and the theater, themselves part of larger festivals; and in images of weddings, private occasions with very public concerns. While one might expect to see music in all of these cases, its presence also reminds the viewer of the collectivity of these events and their importance to the democratic *polis* as a whole. Underlying all of these themes is the figure of the god Apollo, himself the essence of *harmonia*.

THE *HARMONIA* OF APOLLO KITHAROIDOS

On a hydria by the Berlin Painter (Fig. 84), Apollo travels across the sea (Hyperpon-tios) on a winged tripod, bow slung over his back and chelys lyre in hand.¹³ Leaping dolphins and underwater sea creatures suggest the extent of the god's voyage.¹⁴ Scholars have long recognized a connection between this vase and the *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo*; the hymn recounts Apollo's journey from his birthplace on the island of Delos to Delphi, which in turn becomes his primary oracular sanctuary following the victory over the she-dragon. The hymn further reveals how the young Apollo had taken the bow and lyre as his primary attributes (131–4). The Berlin Painter unites bow, lyre, and tripod in his scene, thus conveying the complex nature of the god. If the bow symbolizes Apollo's role as *sophronistes* and bringer of *dike*, then the lyre is its counterpart, metaphorically suggesting the *harmonia* that the god brings to the world.¹⁵ For the Greeks the lyre and bow represented an ideal duality, their tensile strings and curved shapes complementing one another; much later Heraclitus described the relationship of the two as a *harmonia*.¹⁶ In Plato's *Kratylos* (405c–d), Sokrates, when discussing the etymology of Apollo's name, comments on the *harmonia* associated with the god and vividly links it with his musical talent:

With reference to music we have to understand that *alpha* often signifies "together," and here [in Apollo's name] it denotes moving together in the heavens about the poles, as we call them, and harmony in song, which is called concord (*symphonia*); for, as the ingenious musicians and astronomers tell us, all these things move together by a kind of harmony (*harmonia*). And this god directs the *harmonia*, making them all move together, among both gods and men.¹⁷

Sokrates explains that Apollo's name encompasses all of his qualities, "his power in music, prophecy, medicine, and archery" (405a). The Berlin Painter's image does the same.



84. Hydria by the Berlin Painter with Apollo Hyperpontios; ca. 490–480 B.C. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (16568). Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

An important aspect of Apollo as god of *harmonia* is his role as *sophronistes*, the divine embodiment of *sophrosyne* or moderation. The Delphic maxims *Gnothi sauton* [know thyself] and *Meden agan* [nothing in excess] express the Apolline connotation of *sophrosyne* as self-knowledge and self-restraint, particularly in opposition to the willful pride of *hubris*. The *sophrosyne–hubris* juxtaposition, as has often been noted, becomes particularly important in post-Persian War Greece; in the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Apollo serves as the quintessential *sophronistes* in the Centauromachy, stretching out his hand to champion *sophrosyne* in the face of barbaric *hubris*.¹⁸ We find this in other contexts too, such as the punishment of the Niobids, the slaying of Tityos, and, later in the century, the contest with Marsyas.

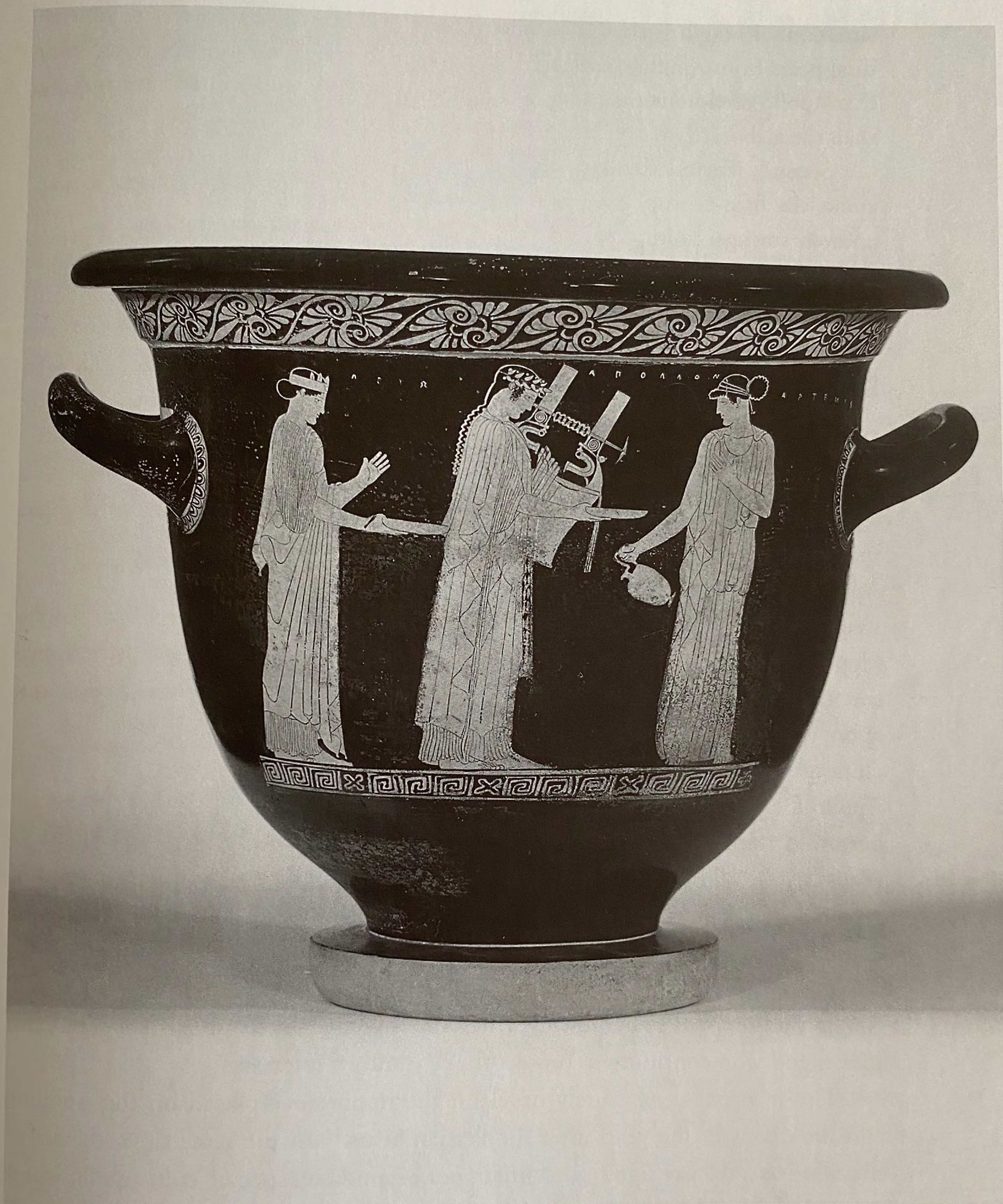
The musical role of Apollo and his relation to *harmonia* concern us here. Although Apollo as musician had certainly been a familiar figure in sixth-century Athenian art, he continues to appear in profusion during the fifth century. The subjects likewise tend to be familiar: Apollo with Artemis and Leto; Apollo at weddings; Apollo with the Muses. However, we find alterations in the iconography that mesh well with contemporary beliefs about music, as well as contemporary beliefs about Apollo himself.

Scenes of Apollo performing libations, commonly accompanied by his sister Artemis and often by his mother Leto as well (thus forming the Delian triad), appear in a limited way during the early fifth century and escalate in popularity after the Persian Wars.¹⁹ They remain a favorite of vase painters until roughly mid-century, when their popularity dramatically wanes. In most cases, Apollo holds a musical instrument (lyre or concert kithara) and a phiale while Artemis or Leto prepares to pour from an oinochoe, as on a bell krater by the Villa Giulia Painter in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 85).²⁰ Here Artemis, named by inscription, holds the oinochoe at right, while Leto, also named, extends a second phiale at left. The scene is quiet, dignified and harmonious, iconic rather than narrative.

There are many variations on this iconographic pattern. Apollo can be paired only with Artemis, or can appear totally alone, as on a white-ground cup discovered in a tomb at Delphi (Fig. 6).²¹ Here Apollo has a chelys lyre and pours the libation on the ground, watched by an attentive bird. On occasion, Hermes joins the group as a watching bystander, as does a winged woman who could be Iris or Nike. A ritual context is further indicated in some cases by an altar or a bukranon, while a column can suggest a temple or sanctuary.²² Even more rarely, an omphalos places the scene at Delphi, or a palm tree at Delos.²³ On an amphora by the Niobid Painter (Fig. 86), Apollo and Artemis flank the central palm tree, their gazes and gestures unifying the elegantly balanced composition.²⁴ Apollo holds not only a phiale and chelys lyre, but also a laurel staff, an attribute whose popularity soars in the fifth century and recalls his oracular and judicial authority. Apollo's costume here contrasts with many other libation scenes; he wears, instead of a long chiton, only a himation draped over his shoulder and lower body, leaving his bare chest exposed.

Fifth-century images of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto – the Delian Triad – ultimately derive from black-figure scenes showing the family, which flourished during the Peisistratid era.²⁵ Because many of the black-figure scenes (like the Niobid Painter's much later red-figure amphora) include a palm tree, it has been proposed that the black-figure scene type reflects the Peisistratid regime's activities on the island of Delos, namely the ritual "purification" of the island (ca. 545–540 B.C.) and the revival of the festival of the Delia.²⁶ The specific characterization of Apollo as Kitharoidos in these scenes may further suggest the Peisistratid promotion of the arts in Athens, including musical contests and festivals.²⁷

The fifth-century images depart from the sixth-century examples in two important respects. First, whereas Apollo most often plays a kithara in the black-figure images, from the early fifth century onward we increasingly find the god with a chelys lyre.²⁸ The change reaches beyond mere coincidence and can probably be attributed to the emphasis on *mousike*, explored in a previous chapter. The chelys lyre marks Apollo, like so many others, as the quintessential, well-educated young man. Perhaps the rising controversy over professional musicians contributes to this

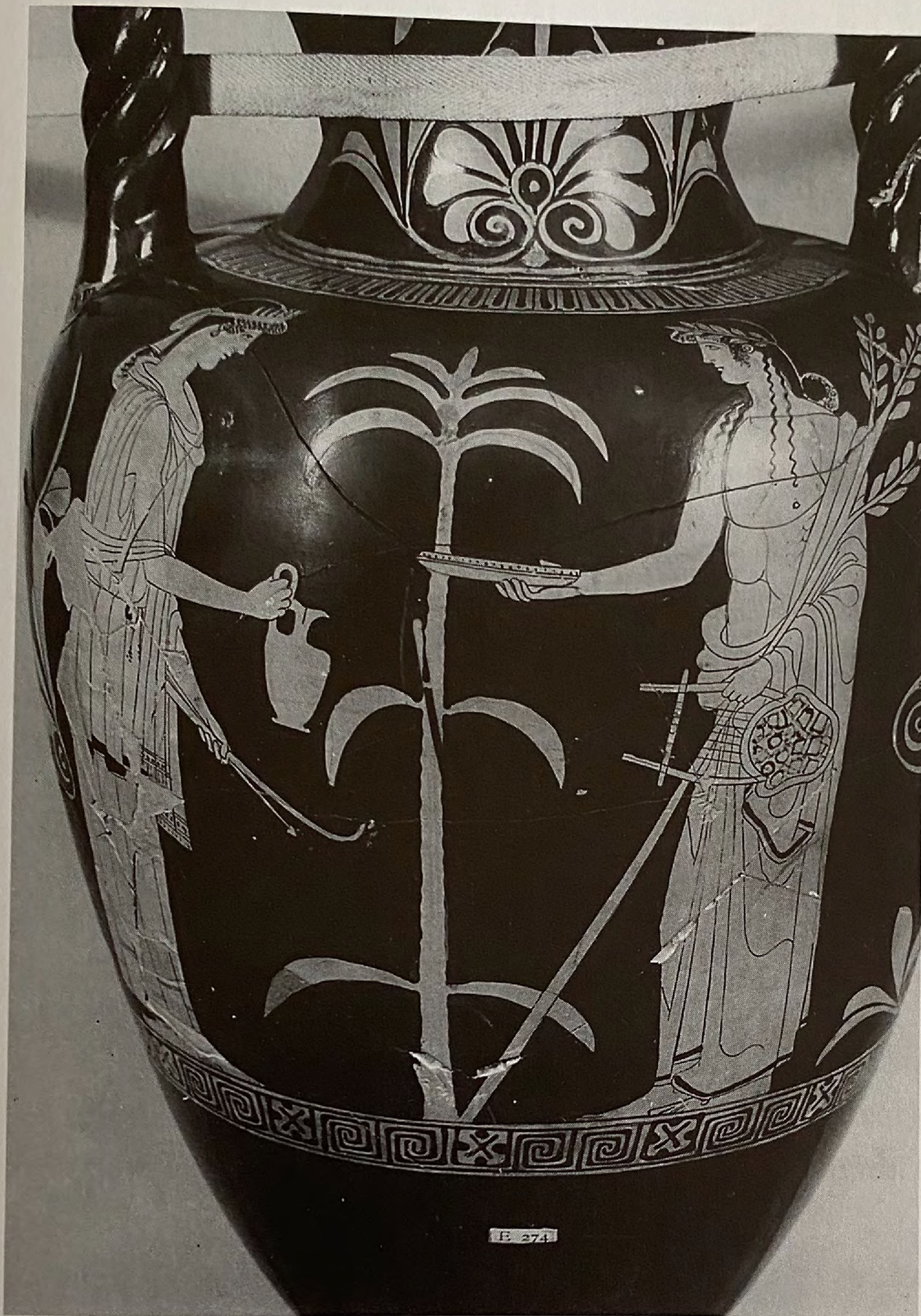


85. Bell krater by the Villa Giulia Painter with Apollo, Artemis, and Leto; ca. 460–450 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.96). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

situation, although it should be noted that the concert kithara never completely disappears from Apolline imagery.²⁹ Supporting this hypothesis is the observation that Apollo predominantly wears a chiton and himation in the fifth century, rather than the elaborately patterned kitharode's robes that he favors in the sixth.³⁰

Second, whereas the sixth-century examples highlighted musical performance alone, the fifth-century scenes focus primarily on libation. This grants the scenes an even stronger cultic association and leads us to think about cults of Apollo in fifth-century Athens. Certainly these cults held an important place in predemocratic Athens, most notably under the Peisistratids; however, the shift in political circumstances after the founding of the democracy, and especially after the Persian Wars, guaranteed different emphases. After the formation of the Delian League and even after the transfer of the League treasury to Athens in 454 B.C., Apollo was especially honored by the Athenians for his ties with Delos and the Ionian Greeks, whom the Athenians considered to be their descendants.³¹ The cult of Apollo Patroos, with a temple in the Agora believed to have been initially built in the sixth century and then rebuilt in the fourth, specifically honored Apollo as ancestor of the Ionians.³² Apollo Patroos was revered in household cult as protector of the *oikos*, along with Zeus, Hestia, and other deities.³³ Related to Apollo Patroos is the cult of Apollo Hypoakraios [Under the Rocks], housed in a cave sanctuary on the northwestern side of the Akropolis, the alleged site of the conception of Ion, son of Apollo and eponymous hero of the Ionians.³⁴ Apollo had other epithets in Athens as well, including Apollo Pythios (a Delphic epithet), with a sanctuary near the Ilissos River; Apollo Delphinios; and Apollo Alexikakos [Averter of Evil], an epithet apparently bestowed after the god helped the Athenians through the plague of 429–427 B.C. (Paus. 1.3.4).³⁵ Fifth-century Athenian devotion to Apollo was further expressed in projects and dedications beyond Athens itself, such as the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (together with the post-Marathonian statue base along its southern wall), the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, and the Temple of the Athenians at Delos.³⁶ Apollo was honored as a god who brings not only *sophrosyne* and *harmonia* but also *dike*, a god who continues to protect the city and its interests.

The libation scenes surely proclaim the importance placed on the Apolline cult in Athens in the years after the Persian Wars.³⁷ At the same time, the act of libation has a deeper significance that goes beyond any specific cult. Apollo is not the only deity to be shown performing a libation in the Classical period; Zeus and Hera engage in the ritual, and scenes of the departure of Triptolemos often feature libations as well.³⁸ Libations are likewise found in the mortal sphere, most notably in contemporary scenes of the departure of a warrior.³⁹ Whereas animal sacrifice served as the most elaborate, communal cult ritual (see subsequent discussion), the libation [*sponde*] was a simpler means of prayer.⁴⁰ In the *polis*, *spondai* were performed to open the assembly or to seal treaties and alliances; in the *oikos*, libations marked the



86. Amphora by the Niobid Painter with Apollo and Artemis flanking a palm tree; ca. 460 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 274). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

start of each day, the comings and goings of household members, and important rites of passage. Libations bound mortals more closely to the gods, helping to maintain a good relationship between human and divine, therefore promoting the *harmonia* of society.

The visual representation of libations therefore summoned many associations in the Athenian viewer's mind. Scenes of the departure of a warrior naturally evoked the *oikos* through the depiction of the family unit but also pointed to the larger *polis*; the man of the house fulfilled his civic duty through military service, and the family fulfilled theirs by looking after the house in his absence. So too scenes of Zeus and Hera performing libations, while recalling the status of the divine couple as protectors of the city, also highlight marriage and family relationships.⁴¹ In the same way, the Apolline images emphasize familial bonds – the bonds between parent and children and between siblings – as well as the cults of the *polis*; Apollo Patroos was honored in homes as well as temples. These iconic scenes express, in a very simple

yet dramatic way, the *harmonia* longed for in all facets of Athenian society. Apollo's musical instrument drives home the message.

Similar themes are present in scenes that include Apollo Kitharoidos in the context of a wedding. He appears among the participants in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis on the sixth-century, black-figure dinos by Sophilos, riding in a chariot with Hermes while playing the kithara.⁴² Together with the Muses who walk alongside, Apollo leads the *gamelios hymnos* or wedding hymn; the pairing with Hermes reminds the viewer that, according to myth (such as the *Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes*), he invented Apollo's lyre. Decades later, the chorus describes the role of Apollo and the Muses at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (1036–57). The Sophilos dinos is the earliest known Athenian scene to feature Apollo at a wedding; these images multiply in the second half of the sixth century as part of an overall vogue for procession scenes. Apollo as kitharode is consistently present in scenes featuring the bridal couple in a horse-drawn chariot with deities accompanying them on foot.⁴³ The identity of the couple is not always clear; perhaps they are Peleus and Thetis, some other divine couple, or even mortals who are being not-so-subtly flattered with a cortege of gods and goddesses.⁴⁴ In the latter case, such a visual association recalls wedding songs in which the bride and groom are frequently likened to mythological characters.⁴⁵ Apollo plays the concert kithara in these scenes – suitable for outdoor performance – and again his song is likely to be a wedding hymn. His presence suggests the *harmonia* desired in marriage, the kithara serving as a visual metaphor as much as a narrative prop.

While Apollo Kitharoidos is omnipresent at wedding and other processions in the sixth century, such images are much more rare in the fifth. Among other alterations, mortal musicians generally replace Apollo in wedding scenes that are geared more to human than to divine. A few Classical wedding scenes with Apollo Kitharoidos do survive, the best known being the name vase of the Peleus Painter (Fig. 87), where Apollo again stands beside the horses, playing his concert kithara.⁴⁶ Holding a phiale in his outstretched hand, he performs a libation, a new detail. Thanks to inscriptions, the identities of the other characters are not in doubt: Hermes, Hekate with her torches, Thetis, Peleus, and Aphrodite. It has been suggested that Apollo's presence gives the scene a sense of oracular foreboding in light of the ultimately disastrous consequences of the marriage: Discord, uninvited to the wedding feast, will toss her apple and, through the subsequent chain of events, bring about the Trojan War, while Achilles – the heroic son of Peleus and Thetis – will suffer an untimely death.⁴⁷ Indeed there may be iconographic elements in the scene that subtly point to an unhappy future: the appearance of Hekate rather than Artemis; the crowning by Aphrodite, whose winning of the apple of Discord will instigate Paris' abduction of Helen; the visual detachment of Peleus and Thetis.⁴⁸ However,



87. Calyx krater by the Peleus Painter with wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, including Apollo Kitharoidos; ca. 430 B.C. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina (2893/T 617). Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich.

Apollo's song and libation have a positive, optimistic aspect, despite the dire events to come. He still expresses the hope for *harmonia*, although in this case the viewer recognizes the irony of such a wish.⁴⁹

Finally, we return to scenes of Apollo as *Mousagetes*. As we have seen, the characterization of the Muses in Athenian art undergoes dramatic changes with the advent of the fifth century, and Apollo forms part of those changes. Not only do the Muses play their own musical instruments in the new images (whereas previously they rarely did), but Apollo himself shifts from primarily playing the concert kithara to the chelys lyre when in their company. This detail is certainly in keeping with the educational bent of the Muses, for the concert kithara never formed part of the Athenian educational curriculum. Musical gatherings of the Muses and Apollo are the most common (cf. Fig. 25); more rarely a Muse performs libations with the god, as on the interior of a cup by the Kalliope Painter.⁵⁰ The exterior scenes of the Kalliope Painter's cup appropriately concern musical instruction. Scenes of Apollo and the Muses remain popular throughout the fifth century, even where the scenes of the Delian Triad tend to fade away. In contemporary literature, both Apollo and

the Muses are capable of bestowing *harmonia*, as in Pindar's *Fifth Pythian Ode*, in which the poet describes Apollo "the founding father" (5.65–7) as one "... [who] has given us the lyre [lit. kithara], who brings the Muse to whom he chooses, filling the heart with peace and harmony [*eunomia*]."⁵¹ The following century in the *Timaeus* (47D), Plato ascribes to the Muses the ability to restore *harmonia* in the soul. The association of Apollo and the Muses with *harmonia* was more clearly delineated in fifth-century iconography, forefronting the theme of music. We are further reminded of contemporary research in the field of *harmonia*, as for example among the Pythagoreans, whose sensibilities colored Plato's *Timaeus* and other surviving musical writings.

Apollo's popularity in Athens surged at specific points in time, although he was omnipresent in Greek art generally. Whereas he appears intermittently in Archaic vase painting in the first half of the sixth century – as on the Sophilos dinos discussed previously – he becomes dramatically more visible in the period from circa 540 B.C. until the founding of the democracy in 508/7 B.C., in scene types that include chariot processions (wedding or otherwise), and the Delian Triad.⁵² The numerous appearances of Apollo at that point have plausibly been linked with the Peisistratid regime and its promotion not only of cults of Apollo, but of the arts as well.⁵³ We see another surge in images of Apollo during the fifth century, especially after the Persian Wars; in terms of the musical Apollo, this is when the libation scenes and scenes with Muses increase.⁵⁴ These trends can be explained by a number of factors: a general interest in themes of *sophrosyne*, aptly embodied by Apollo as the *sophron* god; political interest in the cults of Apollo, thanks to the Athenian creation of the Delian League; educational interest in *mousike*, especially illustrated by Apollo *Mousagetes*; and a desire to convey the *harmonia* of the city.

MUSIC AND CULT RITUAL

Among the calvacade of figures on the Parthenon frieze are a series of musicians playing the kithara and aulos (Fig. 88).⁵⁵ The presence of musicians on the north frieze is documented not only by surviving fragmentary slabs but also by drawings made by Jacques Carrey in 1674, which clearly show four men with kitharas and four with auloi, following the groups of sacrificial animals, young men bearing trays [*skaphephoroi*], and young men carrying hydriai [*hydriaphoroi*] in the procession.⁵⁶ The violent explosion in 1687 that damaged or destroyed many of the Parthenon sculptures obliterated some of the figures, but enough remains to confirm Carrey's observations. The last two kithara players survive to the greatest extent; all of the musicians originally wore long-sleeved chitons with diagonal himations. Carrey drew



88. Section of the Parthenon north frieze with musicians; ca. 442–438 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo: Alison Frantz Photographic Collection, American School of Classical Studies at Athens (neg. AT 165).

the auletes here as actually playing, although it is not clear whether the kitharodes were playing as well or just carrying their instruments.⁵⁷

Although the reconstruction of the south frieze is more problematic, the majority of scholars accept a group of musicians corresponding to those on the north. Any auletes on the south side were destroyed by the insertion of a window prior to Carrey's time; however, he did draw a group of men with square-shaped objects where we might expect kithara players.⁵⁸ These latter figures were themselves destroyed in the 1687 explosion, save the last member of the group, whose lowered right hand and a portion of drapery survive. The drapery suggests the figures wore long chitons and himations reminiscent of the kitharodes on the north side, and the object held in the surviving hand seems to be a plektron.⁵⁹

If auletes and kitharodes did appear on the south side, then the Parthenon frieze originally featured sixteen total musicians, an impressive number hinting at the grandeur of the procession [*pompe*] depicted. The actual occasion is much debated, but the inclusion of the so-called peplos scene on the eastern end strongly suggests a connection with the Greater Panathenaia.⁶⁰ It is equally debated whether mortal figures on the frieze are meant to be figures from the past (either mythological

or heroic) or symbolic, idealized images of fifth-century Athenians.⁶¹ Although contemporary scenes were not the norm for temple sculpture, nonetheless the latter is most plausible.⁶² It is not clear whether the musicians on the frieze are professionals or citizens taking part in the *pompe*; however, post-fifth-century sources show that the Athenian *archons* and *boule* engaged their own auletes for performance at certain civic occasions and that these were citizens.⁶³ Although many of the musicians employed for Athenian rituals were likely hired professionals, in the case of the Parthenon frieze with its apparent emphasis on the Athenian *demos*, these particular musicians are probably citizens too.

The choice of the *pompe* as a subject for the frieze allowed the sculptors to convey the essence of Athens, from the horsemen on the western, northern, and southern sides who recalled the cavalry recently revived by Perikles to the young girls on the eastern side who evoked the promise of womanhood and continuation of the citizenry. Indeed, the Panathenaic procession by its very nature encapsulated the whole of the Athenian territory and population, moving in a centripetal route from the Dipylon Gate at the edge of the city through the Kerameikos and the Agora, up to the Akropolis.⁶⁴ The participants in the procession were citizens, metics, men, women, and children, and even those who did not participate acted as spectators, a role that still implied membership and belonging – a role assumed in turn by the spectators of the frieze.⁶⁵ The Panathenaic procession showcased the *koinonia* of Athenians for all to see and hear. The musicians express the essentiality of music in these proceedings, while metaphorically hinting at the *harmonia* maintained as a result of the citizens' efforts. They also highlight the performative nature of the *pompe* itself; in both the real procession and the fictive one captured in stone, the focus is very much on performance and display.⁶⁶ Their music serves not only as an announcement of the events at hand and the events to come, but as an invitation to the audience to engage with the rituals.

The Parthenon frieze is but one of many images of ritual *pompai* in Athenian art that include musicians. Nor is this theme limited to the fifth century; a black-figure amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686 has on its obverse a priestess, three men, and an ox approaching an altar and statue of Athena, while on the reverse four richly garbed auletes and kitharodes complete the procession.⁶⁷ The theme of the sacrificial procession, however, diminishes in popularity on red-figure vases. From the turn of the fifth century comes a loutrophoros, dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis, that shows a procession of men and women with branches, a man leading a pig, and an aulete named Lykos.⁶⁸

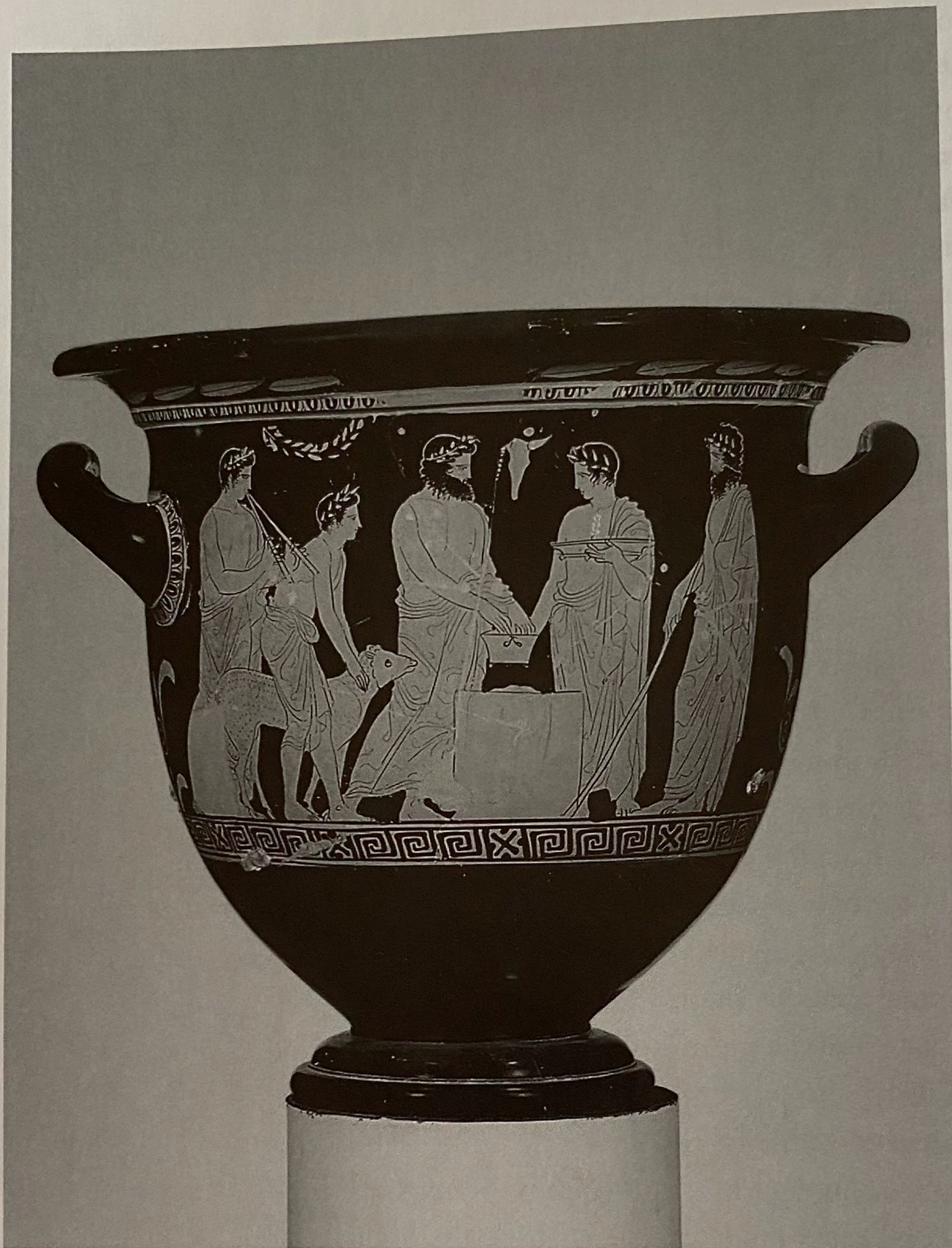
The inclusion of animals, musicians, and cult objects in both the Parthenon frieze and vase paintings of processions reminds the viewer that at the conclusion of the *pompe* comes the most important ritual of Athenian religious life, the communal alimentary sacrifice [*thysia*].⁶⁹ Cult actions after the *pompe*, with participants

gathered around the sacrificial altar, appear with ever-increasing frequency in fifth-century vase painting.⁷⁰ Animal sacrifice had a twofold purpose: to propagate the relationship between humans and the gods, and to promote unity among members of the community through the cooking, distribution, and sharing of meat. The *thysia* helped maintain the order and *harmonia* of the *polis* in terms of social and divine relationships, much like the *spondai* discussed earlier. These relationships are communicated on the Parthenon frieze, for example, not only by the mortal participants, but also by the gods on the eastern side.

In vase painting, the moment of sacrifice itself is not shown.⁷¹ Painters concentrate on the washing of hands and other preparations immediately before the slaying of the animal, or else on the roasting of meat, *splanchna* [the internal organs, the choicest part of the beast], and the "god's portion" after the kill. These choices, especially the depiction of roasting, are clearly significant when viewed in their chronological context. The fifth century witnessed a considerable expansion of the Athenian festival calendar and the number of public sacrifices – so much so that the Old Oligarch complained about the easy access of the *demos* to the feasts (and the meat).⁷² Like the *pompai*, the sacrifices themselves were performances, with certain members of the community being allowed to participate directly and others acting as spectators and sharers in the often enormous quantities of meat. Although the *splanchna* and even the "god's portion" were consumed by the immediate participants, the remainder of the meat was distributed evenly among other members of the audience and community; we are told that at the Panathenaia, for example, meat was divided by deme and given to citizens who had taken part in the grand procession.⁷³ The actual animals used in the sacrifice were provided in some cases by the city, in others through the imposition of a liturgy, or mandatory financial obligation, on wealthy citizens. Both circumstances, extremely democratic in character, marked a change from the Archaic period, when elite leaders bore responsibility and used sacrifices as a way to display their aristocratic social status.

Fifth-century scenes of sacrifice on Athenian vases can therefore be read as statements of democratic religion. These images primarily focus on the officiants and do not show spectators sharing in the sacrificial meal, but the viewer of the vase serves as spectator to the action. Many of the scenes are represented on kraters, which themselves symbolize the idea of *koinonia* through their function as vessels for mixing communal wine. Whereas scenes of the symposion imply exclusive occasions with a largely elite audience, representations of sacrifice indicate ritual performances accessible to the entire *demos*.

Musicians appear in many scenes of this type, suggesting that music played a significant role beyond the *pompe* to all stages of the sacrificial ritual. However, whereas the *pompe* scenes often include both kithara and aulos players, only auletes



89. Bell krater by the Kleophon Painter with ritual before sacrifice; ca. 430 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Catherine Page Perkins Fund (95.25). Photo: © 2004 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

appear in the scenes around the altar. It has been suggested that this reflects actual practice, that stringed instruments formed part of the *pompe* but did not accompany the sacrifice proper. While this may be the case – and there is no literary evidence to help either way – the choice to include only the aulos player may have been based on other factors, such as compositional space. The prominence of the musician, when included, recalls the theme of *harmonia* underlying all of the proceedings. A bell krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter (Fig. 89) depicts the *mageiros* [a specialized officiant] dipping his hands into a water basin preparatory to sprinkling the animal in order to attain its assent to sacrifice.⁷⁴ The *mageiros* and an attendant holding

the basin and the *kanoun* [basket carrying grain and the sacrificial knife] flank the altar, with a bearded onlooker, possibly a priest, at right. At left stand an attendant with the sacrificial ram, who touches the animal's head as if to reassure or steady him, and an aulete. In contrast to the Archaic *pompe* scenes just discussed, here the aulete is bare-chested and wears a simple himation like the other participants in the rite.⁷⁵ All the figures wear laurel wreaths that emphasize the sacral nature of the occasion.⁷⁶ A stamnos by the Eucharides Painter depicts a different "prekill" stage, with a sacrificial participant either sprinkling water on a bull or persuading it to drink (again to obtain the animal's assent); here the aulete does not play but holds his pipes and wears a more elaborate costume.⁷⁷

"Postkill" scenes – more of which feature aulos players than do "prekill" scenes – synoptically compress three actions into a single scene: the grilling of the *splanchna*; the grilling of the "god's portion," often symbolized in vase painting by the animal's tail roasting on the altar; and the pouring of a libation by the presider.⁷⁸ Once again the vase painters are not trying to document a real-time event, but rather to convey the ideal sacrifice. The inclusion of auletes in postkill scenes thus signifies the role of music in sacrifice as a whole, rather than giving documentary evidence as to at which exact stages the aulos was played. On a stamnos by Polygnotos in London (Fig. 90), the *mageiros* stands beside the altar, holding a libation cup in one hand with his other hand upraised, perhaps in prayer.⁷⁹ The god's portion of the



90. Stamnos by Polygnotos with roasting of sacrificial meat; ca. 440 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 455). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

91. Calyx krater in the manner of the Kadmos Painter with roasting of sacrificial meat; ca. 420–410 B.C. San Antonio Museum of Art, Gift of Gilbert M. Denman Jr. (85.120.2). Photo: Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.



sacrificial meat roasts on the altar. Two *splanchnoptai* stand to the right, one with his spit held over the flaming altar and the other holding his spit at the ready. An aulete draped in a himation plays at right, while a figure of Nike hovers over the altar. Inscriptions name three of the figures: Archenautes the *mageiros*, Nikodemos the roasting *splanchnopt*, and Sosibios the aulos player.

Many fifth-century sacrifice scenes – both with and without musicians – can be associated with the god Apollo, either through the presence of the god himself or his attributes (such as laurel trees).⁸⁰ While we have seen that the cult(s) of Apollo enjoyed great popularity after the Persian Wars as a result of the Athenian formation of the Delian League (among other factors), Apollo as god of *harmonia* and *eunomia* in general serves as an appropriate recipient of a ritual whose larger goal is to maintain the *harmonia* of the community.⁸¹ On a calyx krater in the manner of the Kadmos Painter (Fig. 91), the god appears to be an epiphany rather than a cult statue. He sits casually near the altar, overlooking and watching the rituals: A young man pours a libation and another roasts the offerings at an altar.⁸² The chelys lyre Apollo holds in one hand emphasizes his musical connections, balanced by a laurel staff in the other. An aulos player stands on the same side of the altar as Apollo; this and other images suggest that, contrary to stereotype, aulos music played a role in the worship of Apollo as it did for other deities. A tripod suggests an Apolline sanctuary while also perhaps referring to dithyrambic contests. Apollo also watches the cult actions on a stamnos by Polygnotos in Gotha; an aulete is



92. Stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter with women celebrating a ritual, so-called Lenaia scene; ca. 460 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (G 289). Photo: Museum.

not present, but Apollo holds both a lyre and plektron as if he himself has been playing.⁸³

Far more controversial than the animal sacrifice scenes are a group of vases that seem to allude to female worship of the god Dionysos, the so-called Lenaia scenes.⁸⁴ The term is used here to refer to a series of stamnoi, almost exclusively the work of the Villa Giulia Painter and his student and associate, the Chicago Painter, showing women in Dionysian garb engaging in apparent cult practices, often (but not always) around a mask-idol of the god.⁸⁵ Musicians appear in about half of these scenes, mostly playing the aulos. In some cases, aulos music accompanies specific actions; on a stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter in Oxford (Fig. 92), a standing woman plays the aulos as a woman at center ladles wine into a skyphos, and a third woman waits her turn at left.⁸⁶ A seated aulos player appears on a stamnos by the Chicago Painter (Fig. 93), along with a woman ladling wine and a mask-idol of Dionysos.⁸⁷ Music can also accompany processions: A vase by the Dinos Painter, the latest in the series, features a woman with tympanon along with a woman with an aulos in such a procession.⁸⁸ The obverse of the same vase shows a tympanon, rather than an aulos, being played in front of a mask-idol.

The problem is determining who the women are – whether mortal or mythical – and what occasion they celebrate. At one extreme, many scholars identify these images as representations of a specific festival, either the Lenaia, an annual Dionysian festival, or else the Anthesteria, another Dionysian festival associated with wine.⁸⁹ This interpretation presupposes that the women shown are mortal adherents of

93. Stamnos by the Chicago Painter with women celebrating a ritual before an image of Dionysos, so-called Lenaia scene; ca. 450 B.C. San Antonio Museum of Art, Gift of Gilbert M. Denman, Jr. (86.134.64). Photo: Courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.



Dionysian cult. The other extreme insists that the women are nymphs, mythical followers of Dionysos, rather than mortals.⁹⁰ The latter argument is supported by the fact that some of the stamnoi have obvious mythical elements, as on a stamnos by the Phiale Painter where one of the women engaging in the alleged ritual holds a baby satyr.⁹¹

The truth probably lies somewhere in between.⁹² The mortal and divine realms intersect so frequently in fifth-century Athenian iconography that it is often difficult to tell where the mythical world ends and the human one begins. To make a specific connection between these scenes and the Lenaia or any other festival and to read the vases as illustrations thereof deserves caution; as we have seen, artists were not compelled to illustrate precisely events in Athenian daily life, but instead felt free to compress or omit elements to suit their purposes. Reality is a point of reference but not an absolute. In the case of the Lenaia scenes, whether these are meant to be mortals or nymphs, the scenes probably do reflect practices of Dionysian worship, at least to a degree. Within that paradigm, the aulos and tympanon probably did function actively in the cult. More than that we might not ever be able to say.

No less controversial is the unique Polygnotan volute krater discovered in an Etruscan tomb (Fig. 94), whose provocative scene raises the question of music in

orgiastic or ecstatic cults.⁹³ As with the Lenaia vases, it is virtually impossible to be certain whether we are looking at something real or perceived: a document of cult worship or a vase painter's imaginative conception. Two seated figures, one male and one female, form the focus of the composition; framed by two Doric columns, they are either statues or epiphanies of deities. Although their identities have been disputed, most scholars identify them as the Phrygian Kybele, who was associated with the native Greek Great Mother, and Sabazios or Dionysos-Sabazios, Kybele's son.⁹⁴ They are surrounded by a festive retinue: a *liknon* bearer, a female aulos player, a younger girl with a tympanon, and three figures dancing with snakes, approach the gods. Two more aulos players, one male and one female, frame a group of dancing women and girls (one with a tympanon) and a small boy with kymbala. The male aulete wears a *phorbeia* and is dressed in robes recalling professional musicians. This vase marks one of the few representations of kymbala in fifth-century vases; the tympanon, as we have noted, is new to the imagery of this period, although the instrument is associated with Kybele or the Great Mother in one of the earlier Homeric Hymns dedicated to her. The inclusion of snakes suggests a chthonic



94. Volute krater attributed to the Group of Polygnotos with cult procession before two seated divinities; ca. 440–430 B.C. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina (2897/T 128). Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

dimension to the ritual. Even if we cannot define precisely the nature of this scene, the instruments shown and the emphasis on ecstatic dance mesh well with other sources regarding the exotic cults, forming a strong contrast to the more sedate sacrifice scenes previously discussed.

CONTEST AND VICTORY

The musicians on the Parthenon frieze, while evoking the Panathenaic procession, also bring to mind the musical contests that formed a highlight of the festival. The earliest textual evidence for the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*, the inscription *IG II² 2311* from circa 370 B.C., lists four types of contests for male musicians at that time: competitions for kitharodes, aulodes, kitharists, and auletes, with the contest for kitharodes being the most prestigious and the prize amounts decreasing thereafter.⁹⁵ For evidence prior to the fourth century, we turn primarily to vase paintings, which suggest a similar roster in the fifth- and even sixth-century contests, perhaps dating back to the festival's reorganization in 566 B.C.⁹⁶ However, we find significant changes in the iconography over the course of two centuries, likely reflecting changes in the festival program as well as altered cultural attitudes toward music. These changes correspond in turn to the evolution of the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones* from a more or less local event to a virtually Panhellenic forum for musical innovation and spectacle.

We have seen that important groundwork was laid during the Archaic period for the growth of the Panathenaic musical contests, especially under the Peisistratids. Emblematic perhaps of Athenian musical ambitions are scenes dating circa 530–500 B.C. that show Herakles as kitharode, mounting or standing upon a *bema* in the manner of mortal competitors.⁹⁷ A black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group (Fig. 95) includes Herakles' divine patroness Athena, as well as Hermes, whose presence recalls his musical connections through the invention of the chelys lyre. As Hermes Agoraios he may also serve to set the scene in the Athenian Agora, which may have been the locale for the *mousikoi agones* at this time.⁹⁸

What makes these scenes curious is their focus on Herakles' musical talents and their confinement to the late sixth century; we have seen that Herakles is better known for the murder of his music teacher than for any musical ability. John Boardman and others have proposed a connection between the imagery and contemporary Peisistratid interest in musical contests.⁹⁹ For Boardman, this accords with a broader interest in Herakles under the Peisistratids.¹⁰⁰ Any alleged link to the Peisistratids, however, seems to be only part of a broader equation. Herakles was such an important Panhellenic hero in sixth-century Greece that for him to appear extensively on Athenian vases – in any kind of scene – may have been Athens' way



95. Amphora attributed to the Leagros Group with Herakles playing a kithara; ca. 515–510 B.C. Worcester, MA, Worcester Art Museum, Austin S. Garver Fund (1966.63). Photo: Museum.

of asserting its rising position. In the case of Herakles as kitharode, we can speculate that these representations advertised the growing importance of the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*, with the consistent presence of Athena as spectator supporting this hypothesis. One could even say that Herakles in a sense usurps Apollo's position; might the depictions of Herakles proclaim Athens a new rival to Delphi in the realm of *mousikoi agones*? Certainly the Panathenaic musical competitions never would supplant the Pythian, but as the notoriety of the Panathenaia grew, they did indeed prove a worthy contender. The scenes may even refer to Argos, itself a preeminent musical center: Herakles was first and foremost a hero of the Argolid, and Athens would have wanted to surpass Argos symbolically too. The theory that Herakles as kitharode is somehow linked to the Panathenaia helps to explain a unique amphora from circa 530 B.C., where both Herakles and Athena mount a *bema* together.¹⁰¹ He plays a kithara and she an aulos – the very instrument that later authors say she rejects. Since the kithara and aulos are the two instruments of the *mousikoi agones*, it is not difficult to posit a connection.

Other late sixth-century scenes depict mortal musicians performing before audiences of elite Athenian men. The reverse of an amphora by the Andokides



96. Amphora by the Andokides Painter with kithara player and two onlookers; ca. 530–520 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre (G 1). Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY (Hervé Lewandowski).

Painter (Fig. 96) ranks among the earliest red-figure images of a kithara player with audience.¹⁰² While it may be difficult to identify this setting conclusively as the Panathenaic festival, a connection to the *mousikoi agones* is suggested by a slightly later, black-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora, which likewise features a central kithara player on a *bema* with two listeners.¹⁰³ The Andokides Painter's musician stands on a two-stepped *bema*, a richly garbed figure who wields his large kithara with authority, its arms overlapping the upper frame of the picture.¹⁰⁴ He represents a departure from the numerous kithara players found in black-figure scenes, whose mortal identities are frequently difficult to confirm. Earlier painters had understandably often merged the iconography of mortal musicians with that of Apollo as a way of comparing their skills.¹⁰⁵ The obverse of a black-figure amphora in London from circa 550–540 B.C. features Apollo and his sister Artemis, while the reverse surely shows a mortal kithara player in a nearly identical stance.¹⁰⁶

In addition to placing the kithara player squarely into the mortal realm, the Andokides Painter's amphora (Fig. 96) also brings him into contact with the Athenian elite. As noteworthy as the musician himself are the two elegant young men

who flank the *bema*, also beautifully dressed and both carrying staffs marking them as members of Athenian high society. The one at right casually sniffs a flower, lending an air of studied nonchalance. The painter repeats this scheme on an amphora in Basel, where a richly dressed musician plays the aulos on the *bema*, accompanied by an older, bearded man who presumably sings along.¹⁰⁷ Another elegant pair of aloof listeners appears here, one standing with staff at left, another seated sniffing a flower at right. Although the identities of the listeners on these two amphorae are not clear, they seem to be aristocratic spectators of the *agones* rather than judges.¹⁰⁸

The painter Euphronios presents an early red-figure scene with auletic competition and elite audience on the reverse of a calyx krater in the Louvre (Fig. 97).¹⁰⁹



97. Calyx krater by Euphronios with aulos player and audience; ca. 510–500 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre (G 103). Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

The aulete, identified by inscription as Polykles, mounts the two-stepped *bema*, one hand clutching his auloi and the other gracefully lifting the edge of his trailing chiton. Polykles seems to have been a proficient musician, his name also appearing on a black-figure oinochoe showing a kitharode.¹¹⁰ A trio of seated spectators await his performance, bare-chested but with elegantly draped himatia covering the lower halves of their bodies, a fashion increasingly common among Athenian men during the late sixth and early fifth centuries.¹¹¹ The ubiquitous staffs identify these men as members of the elite, but Euphronios makes their status even more clear by including their names: Leagros *kalos*, Hylas, and Kephisodoros. Another name, restored as [Me]las, is inscribed on the *bema* itself, together with the epithet *kalos*.¹¹² Leagros is well known from other vases as one of the darlings of Athenian society. So too the name Melas appears elsewhere, suggesting he is also a popular young man of the day; apparently he is not actually depicted here, only evoked through his name.¹¹³ Hylas and Kephisodoros are otherwise unknown, but presumably are "real people" as well. Indeed, the inscriptions make the aristocratic audience as important as the performer. It has been suggested that Euphronios' scene depicts an occasion of private entertainment,¹¹⁴ but it could just as easily represent a musical contest. Although it is not known who would have attended the *mousikoi agones* in this period, it may have been a privilege of the elite; including the aristocratic audience in the painted scene would therefore advertise their social status as much as the musician's own accomplishments.

During the fifth century, the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones* became firmly established as an important stop for both Athenian and non-Athenian musicians on the festival circuit and, together with the competitions of the City Dionysia, gave proponents of the "New Music" an opportunity to showcase their talents and innovations. A red-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter from the turn of the century (Fig. 9) proclaims the enduring significance of the Panathenaic musical contests under the democracy.¹¹⁵ Athena plays a massive kithara before a flaming altar, flanked by two cock-topped columns; she is mirrored on the reverse by a kitharode in his characteristic long robes. It is highly significant that the goddess appears here with a kithara; the viewer would instantly recognize that mortal women were in no way associated with this instrument.

Fifth-century scenes of musical contests emphasize the individuality and achievement of the performers, highlighting their professional status in a new way. No longer are their identities merged with Apollo, and no longer does an elite audience seem as much the subject as the performer. The highly expressive musician on the Berlin Painter's amphora in New York (Fig. 3) serves as an eloquent example and as a definite foil to the Andokides Painter's kithara player (Fig. 96).¹¹⁶ Whereas the latter is static in persona, the Berlin Painter's musician is dynamic, flinging back his head and throwing himself into the performance.¹¹⁷ There are no other

figures, no setting, indeed no visible ground line to distract the viewer from this figure; he is virtually spotlit against the deep black of the vase. The reverse depicts an equally expressive listener, his long forked stick distinctively marking him as a judge or trainer. Stretching out his arm in a direct reaction that ties together both sides of the amphora, he looks about to speak and thus forms a strong contrast with the relatively disinterested poseurs of the Andokides Painter. We can compare the listener on the reverse of an amphora by the Brygos Painter – perhaps a judge himself but perhaps not – who reacts even more strongly to the performance of the kitharode on the opposite side by gazing downward and holding his head as if enraptured.¹¹⁸

Kitharodes like the one on the Metropolitan amphora receive the most attention in early fifth-century vase painting, perhaps a reflection of their high status among professional musicians. The Berlin Painter, who seems to have had an especial interest in musical subjects, has the greatest number of surviving representations, favoring the placement of the musician on one side of the vase and a listener or judge on the other.¹¹⁹ A few of these scenes can also be attributed to the Pan Painter, including a pelike in the collection of the Solow Art and Architecture Foundation (Fig. 98).¹²⁰ Whereas the Berlin Painter's kitharode (Fig. 3) is energetic, this musician appears more contemplative, looking downward as he grasps his instrument and mounts the *bema*. The *kalos* inscription on the *bema* proclaims his fame and talent, almost transforming him into a statue.¹²¹ The lines formed by the musician's back, the edge of his elaborate robes, and the angle of his kithara echo the shape of the vase in a graceful composition. While the emphasis on emotion both here and on the Berlin Painter's amphora meshes well with the stylistic trends of the early fifth century, it also transforms contest scenes into a more personal experience for both performer and spectator, an evocation perhaps of musical *ethos*.

Although kitharodes occupy the spotlight, aulos players by no means disappear from the imagery. An amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Figs. 21 and 22) ranks among the finest depictions of an aulos player in Greek art, with his instrument, *phorbeia*, and patterned robes shown in careful detail.¹²² The bearded man on the amphora's reverse has most commonly been identified as a rhapsode, on the basis of his knotty stick [*rhabdos*] and the poetry issuing from his mouth: "Once upon a time in Tiryns."¹²³ The *bema* on which he stands – featuring an inscription identifying him as *kalos* – certainly indicates that he is neither judge nor spectator. However, it has been pointed out that the inscription is not Homeric (although it evokes the age of heroes), and that even the word *rhapsode* may not be derived from *rhabdos* after all. Indeed, given the propensity of the Kleophrades Painter and his contemporaries to link obverse and reverse, this man is most likely a singer associated with the aulos player in an aulodic contest.¹²⁴

A word should be said about the costumes of the musical contestants on fifth-century vases. Both aulos and kithara players wear an array of highly patterned and decorative garments. The Berlin Painter's kitharode (Fig. 3), for example, wears a fairly simple outfit compared with the voluminous chiton of the Pan Painter's musician (Fig. 98), which includes a wide stripe lining its edge.¹²⁵ More elaborate, and new to the fifth century, is a long-sleeved chiton decorated with patterns such as rosettes, often with a contrastingly patterned vertical band down its center.¹²⁶ This *chiton cheiridotos* becomes associated with professional musicians not only in the context of the *mousikoi agones*, but in other scenes such as theatrical scenes, athletic scenes, and scenes of choruses. The aulos player on the Kleophrades Painter's amphora (Fig. 21) wears another distinctive type of costume: a sleeveless *ependytes*, here festooned with a complex lozenge pattern, over a floor-length chiton.¹²⁷ The range of costumes present in fifth-century contest scenes contrasts strongly with sixth-century examples, where the standard ensemble consists of chiton and himation (although the himation can be brightly colored or decorated).¹²⁸ It also contrasts with fifth-century images of Apollo, who typically wears a plain chiton and himation (or sometimes just a himation) in the Classical period, a departure from his more elaborate Archaic robes. As Margaret Miller has demonstrated, the *chiton cheiridotos* and the *ependytes* both derive from East Greek precedents. We can further compare Herodotos' account of the sixth-century Lesbian kitharode Arion and his attack by pirates (Herodotos 1.23–24), in which Arion's sumptuous garments are mentioned multiple times as the special accoutrements of a successful professional musician who makes his living traveling among festivals and aristocratic courts. Miller attributes the adoption of these costumes by fifth-century musicians in Athens to a dominant interest in Eastern exotica.

The Eastern origin of the musicians' costumes is potentially significant on another level. Literary sources show that, during the fifth century, the most celebrated participants in the *mousikoi agones* and other musical competitions were not Athenian. Athenians do seem to have adopted some foreign items of dress in settings like the symposion or military activities, despite the "ethnically exclusive" environment of the fifth century.¹²⁹ It would be difficult to postulate, for example, that someone wearing a Scythian cap in a symposion scene is really Scythian rather than Athenian. Even the so-called Anakreontic scenes, short-lived in popularity though they were, depict *habrosyne*-loving Athenians, although here the taste for foreign clothing seems to have gone too far. But in the case of professional musicians in the *agones*, whom we know were largely non-Athenian, might not the costumes indicate just that? If this theory is correct, then the costumes in fifth-century musical contest scenes proclaim still further the more cosmopolitan, "Panhellenic" flavor of the *agones* and the overall musical scene in fifth-century Athens.



98. Pelike by the Pan Painter with kithara player mounting a *bema*; ca. 480–470 B.C. New York, Solow Art and Architecture Foundation. Photo: Foundation.

The professionalism and personal achievement of the contestants in the *mousikoi agones* is promoted in fifth-century iconography by the addition of a new character: Nike, the goddess of victory.¹³⁰ The Berlin Painter seems to have developed a type of scene in which Nike carries a kithara and approaches a musician on the opposite side of the vase, as for example an amphora in Oxford (Fig. 10).¹³¹ The inclusion of an altar here suggests a sanctuary or festival setting. An amphora recently on the art market shows Nike actually playing the kithara as she flies: In her right hand she grasps the plektron, attached to her wrist by a red cord, and she has just completed an outward stroke of the strings.¹³² Some of the Berlin Painter's contemporaries,

including the Providence and Oionokles Painters, also depict Nike with a kithara.¹³³ These scenes fit well into post-Persian War iconography, where the personification of Victory frequently appears on Athenian vases with a variety of objects and in many new contexts.¹³⁴ At the same time, they attest to the continuation of the *mousikoi agones* after the Persian Wars, contrary to previous scholarly thought.¹³⁵ Scenes of Nike with a kithara must have a different connotation than scenes of Nike with a chelys lyre: Whereas the former allude to professional musicians, the latter belong to the realm of the amateur and education in *mousike*.¹³⁶

Nike becomes a more integral part of musical contest scenes approaching mid-century; vase painters increasingly show one or more Nikai bestowing prizes on the victor, often in the presence of one or more judges. Here the human and divine realms intermingle to an even greater extent, highlighting the personal glory of the professional musician more than ever before. These representations seem to have originated in the workshop of the Niobid Painter, with several examples attributed to his associate, the Altamura Painter.¹³⁷ On a volute krater by the latter, the image of a victorious kitharode receiving accolades from two Nikai appears as a frieze between the handles on one side.¹³⁸ The body of the vessel features a monumental Gigantomachy; perhaps this was the subject of the kitharode's composition, or it may evoke the Panathenaia in a more general way.¹³⁹

Scenes of victorious musicians with Nikai become increasingly prevalent as the century progresses, as for example with the painters of the Polygnotan workshop.¹⁴⁰ A fragmentary belly amphora in the manner of the Peleus Painter, discovered in the Athenian Agora, includes two scenes of contest on the obverse and reverse.¹⁴¹ One side shows a victorious kitharode standing on a *bema*, with a flying Nike and a seated judge.¹⁴² The opposite side features a standing aulete with another Nike and standing judge. The image of an auletic contest here is unusual; among the four *mousikoi agones* in the Panathenaia, the auletic *agon* was least prestigious. Indeed, the Agora amphora is one of the only images of a victorious aulete to survive from the High Classical period.¹⁴³

The heightened visibility of figures recognizable as judges in musical contest scenes bears examination. While these characters help to establish more definitively the contest setting and also stress the performer's achievement, they may also refer in a subtle way to democracy and its processes. The elites depicted as spectators by such painters as the Andokides Painter and Euphronios emblemize the aristocracy and the social structure of the Archaic period. Judges, however, evoke democracy because of the means of their selection. Although the exact procedure remains unclear, the evidence of literary sources suggests that, first, a list of names of potential judges was drawn up, consisting of citizens from each of the ten tribes. Then the names were sealed in ten urns; tampering with the urns constituted a serious offense. An archon drew one name from each urn before the start of a contest (or perhaps



99. Calyx krater in the manner of the Peleus Painter with victorious kithara player; ca. 430–420 B.C. London, The British Museum (E 460). Photo: © Copyright The British Museum.

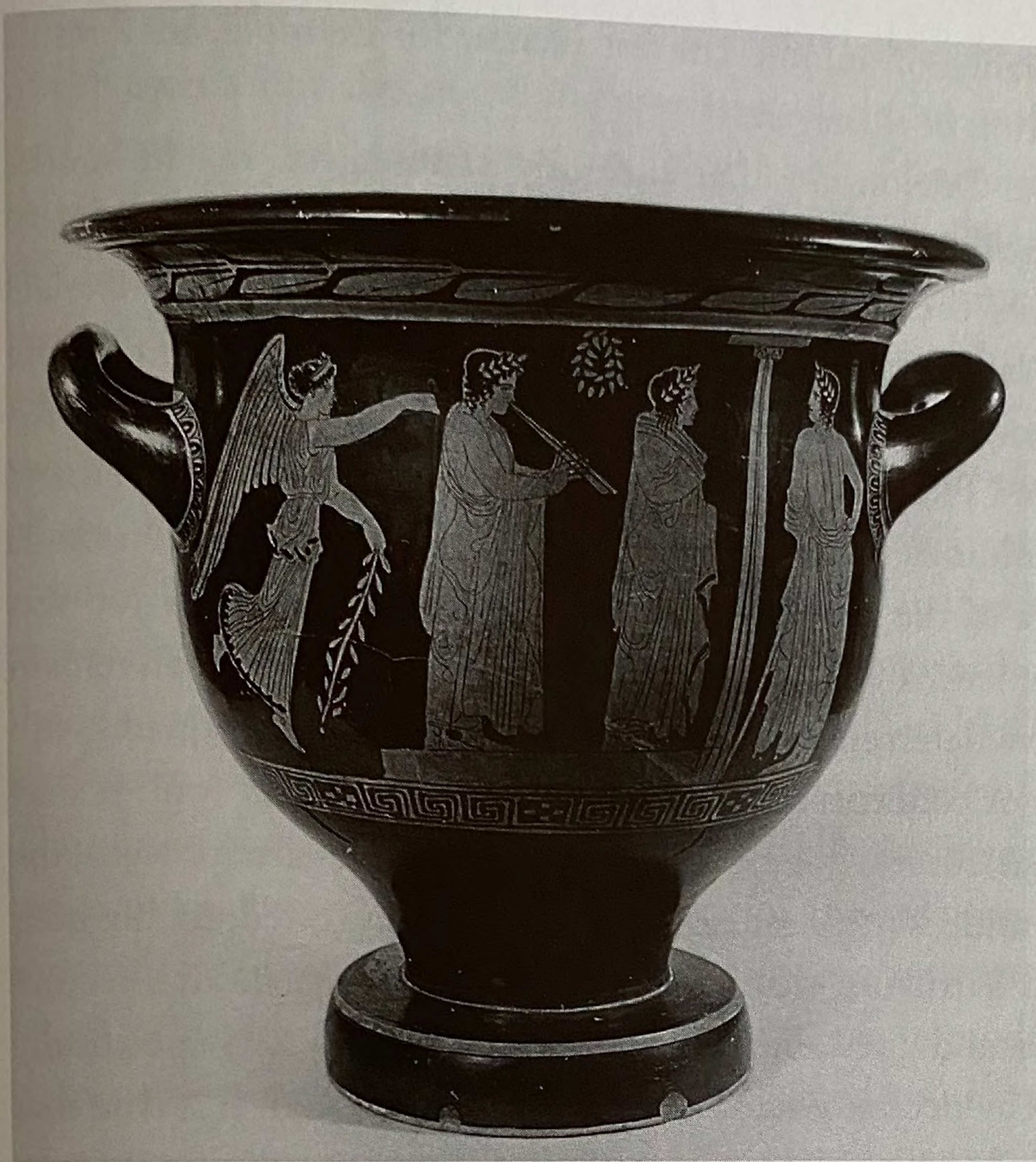
before the festival in general), and those ten men acted as judges, with their verdicts written down after the contest. Evidence further suggests that only five of the ten verdicts were randomly chosen to be the official results.¹⁴⁴ To show the judge present at the contest reminded the viewer that the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones* were democratically engineered, his figure a strong contrast to the flower-sniffing aristocrats of earlier scenes.

The evidence of vase shapes suggests a wider audience for representations of musical contests as the fifth century progressed. Whereas in earlier times amphorae and Panathenaic-shaped amphorae comprised the most common shapes for such scenes (Euphronios' calyx krater is a notable exception), later they were found on a broader range of vases: oinochoai, pelikai, lekythoi, stamnoi, and especially kraters.¹⁴⁵ This trend is demonstrated, for example, by a calyx krater in the manner of the Peleus Painter in London (Fig. 99), where a victorious kitharode mounts a *bema* as a seated male judge, a seated woman, and two Nikai look on.¹⁴⁶ The Painter of Athens 1183 created a curious variation on the usual scene type on his name vase, a pelike (Fig. 16): The young musician here carries not a concert kithara, but the more uncommon Thracian kithara.¹⁴⁷ Two Nikai fly toward him, one carrying a long fillet and the other a prize vase.¹⁴⁸ The latter looks back at the judge as if

receiving the verdict, while a second prize vase stands on a small column. This scene symbolizes not only the public acclaim but also the material benefits that could come with victory.

The evidence of vase shapes can be compared with literary evidence suggesting that, at this time period, the actual audience for theatrical competition and likely also the *mousikoi agones* had expanded. A fund known as the *theorikon* was instituted – some believe by Perikles – to provide every citizen the opportunity to attend performances by subsidizing admission costs; although the particulars and the implications of the *theorikon* are much debated, its very existence implies the democratic privileges associated with attending the events.¹⁴⁹ Presumably male citizens held this privilege first and foremost, although recent research has stressed the strong likelihood that citizen women attended the theater as well. Because the represented audience in the contest scenes generally consists of judges, Nikai, or both, the actual viewer of the vase stands in for the rest of the spectators. A citizen looking at the vase would thus be able to re-create in the act of viewing elements of his or her own real-life experiences and would understand those experiences to be a right of Athenian democratic citizenship.¹⁵⁰ For someone looking at the vase who did *not* customarily attend the performances – whether because they were not permitted or because they lived elsewhere and had received the vase as an export – the act of viewing became a *replacement* for those activities, allowing the person temporarily to assume the position of an Athenian citizen spectator. In this, the contest scenes are similar to the sacrifice scenes discussed in the previous section; both contests and sacrifices were revered institutions of the democratic city, and attendance at these occasions symbolized one's participation in the democracy at large. As Simon Goldhill has noted in his discussion of the Athenian theatrical audience, a point also relevant for contests and sacrifices, "to be in an audience is above all to play the role of democratic citizen."¹⁵¹ These vases remind the democratic viewer of that role, just as much as the popular symposion scenes of the past had reminded aristocratic viewers of their own privileged world.

A bell krater by the Kadmos Painter in Oxford (Fig. 100) demonstrates another change in musical contest scenes: the reemergence of the aulodic contest.¹⁵² Whereas aulodic contests had been well represented in the sixth century – as for example on the Andokides Painter's Basel amphora – this particular *agon* had virtually disappeared in the early fifth century.¹⁵³ On the Kadmos Painter's vase, the singer and accompanying aulos player, both wreathed and decorously garbed in chiton and himation, stand together on a low *bema*. A suspended wreath suggests their victory, as does the prominent figure of Nike flying in from the left. A wreathed listener with staff, perhaps a judge, stands at right observing, with a single column providing an architectural context. The singer and aulos player in this scene appear to be close to the same age, whereas other contemporary images of aulodic contests



100. Bell krater by the Kadmos Painter with aulodic contest; ca. 430–420 B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (1960. 1220). Photo: Museum.

clearly depict the singer as a young boy.¹⁵⁴ Young boys were especially popular in aulodic contests, their high-pitched voices nicely complementing the tones of the aulos.¹⁵⁵

All of these changes in scenes of the *mousikoi agones* – the increased popularity of Nike, the greater prominence of judges, the wider range of vase shapes, and the reappearance of aulodic contests – lead us to Perikles, who may have instigated important changes in the Panathenaic festival program. A text by Plutarch provides a clue to such developments: “Perikles, seeking acclaim, decreed first that a contest in music be held at the Panathenaia, and when he had himself been chosen as *athlothes* he prescribed how they should compete in piping, singing, and playing the kithara. Then and thereafter they used to watch the music competitions in the Odeion.”¹⁵⁶ Plutarch is obviously wrong to attribute the founding of the *mousikoi agones* to Perikles, for the vases confirm their existence long before. To explain Plutarch’s account, some scholars have proposed that the contests were disbanded after the Persian Wars and that Perikles reintroduced them into the festival.¹⁵⁷ The vases suggest otherwise; we have seen that there was no real break in representations relating to the *agones* after 480 B.C. Therefore it becomes likely that Perikles reorganized the existing *mousikoi agones*, perhaps by adding or removing specific competitions or by changing the prizes awarded. The list of competitions and prizes in the fourth-century victors’ inscription *IG II² 2311* may derive from the Periklean

program.¹⁵⁸ The reappearance of aulodic contest scenes, for example, may result from Perikles' reintroduction of this *agon*.¹⁵⁹

Plutarch mentions the Odeion, a rather curiously planned hall on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis, and attributes its construction to Perikles.¹⁶⁰ Although Vitruvius credits the Odeion to Themistokles instead, most scholars today follow Plutarch and accept a Periklean date for the building.¹⁶¹ The site of the Odeion remains only partly excavated, but Plutarch (*Perikles* 13.9–10) provides a helpful description: "The Odeion, which was arranged internally with many rows of seats and many columns and had a roof which sloped down from a single peak, was an exact replica of the Great King's tent, so they say, and this too was built under the superintendence of Perikles."¹⁶² Although details of the plan remain elusive, archaeologists have determined that the building was almost square, with eight to ten rows of interior columns and a steep, pyramidal wooden roof. It may have been open on the sides, for it is not clear whether it had solid exterior walls; the arrangement of the seats inside is not clear either. It has been suggested, on the basis of works by Plutarch and Vitruvius, that the Odeion quoted Persian architecture as a vehicle of propaganda and a testament to Athenian power.¹⁶³ Any specifically Persian connections must by necessity remain hypothetical, although it is true that the plan recalls the hypostyle halls of sites such as Persepolis. Plutarch says that the *mousikoi agones* were performed here, but in truth the Odeion was a multifunctional structure, also serving as a lawcourt and rehearsal site for the City Dionysia.¹⁶⁴ It may, however, have been most associated with the musical contests during the Periklean period.¹⁶⁵ The usage of this unique structure for concerts and contests affirms still further the important civic role granted to music during this period, giving the *demos* a place to gather, enjoy the proceedings, and serve as spectators.¹⁶⁶

A Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Nausikaa Painter evokes the renewed emphasis given the *mousikoi agones* under Perikles.¹⁶⁷ Whereas Panathenaic-shaped amphorae with kitharodes had been prevalent earlier in the century, the Nausikaa Painter's vase is one of the few examples surviving from the second half.¹⁶⁸ Here the performing kitharode is Apollo himself, mounting a two-stepped *bema* (inscribed *kalos*) in the presence of his half-sister, Athena. The presence of Athena, along with the distinctive shape of the vase, places Apollo's performance in the realm of the Panathenaic festival. Indeed, the pairing of Apollo and Athena may reflect the political importance of the Delian League. The figures on the reverse – Hermes with his kerykeion and Poseidon with his trident – further suggest Periklean interests. The cults of both gods were extremely important in Classical Athens; with Poseidon as god of the sea and Hermes as a god associated with agricultural practices and the land, together they metaphorically indicate the extent of Athenian power.¹⁶⁹

Changes in musical contest iconography relate not only to Periklean support of the *agones*, but also to the increased popularity of professional virtuosi and star performers, the practitioners of the "New Music." Literary sources record the names of many kithara and aulos players from throughout the Greek world who passed through Athens during the last half of the fifth century. Some were sufficiently famous to be lampooned by Athenian comic playwrights; in a famous passage surviving from Pherekrates' play *Chiron* dated circa 410 B.C., Mistress Mousike claims she has suffered abuse at the hands of the virtuoso musicians Melanippides of Melos, the Athenian Kinesias, Phrynis of Mitylene, and Timotheos from Melos (whom Pherekrates speaks of disparagingly as "a redheaded Milesian").¹⁷⁰ Sources elsewhere confirm that Phrynis was a victorious kitharode at the Panathenaia, although the date of his success at the festival is unclear.¹⁷¹ Timotheos in turn defeated Phrynis in a contest, as he boasts in a fragment of one of his own compositions.¹⁷² The names of other musical stars are preserved elsewhere in texts, suggesting a wide range of celebrated performers known for their daring, unconventional musical innovations as well as their dazzling, charismatic onstage presence.¹⁷³

A pelike by the Epimedes Painter, discovered in modern-day Bulgaria, demonstrates the probable connection of professional musicians with the development of contest iconography.¹⁷⁴ Inscriptions identify not only the young kitharode Alkimachos standing on the two-stepped *bema* but also the four Nikai who personify victory at the Isthmian, Nemean, Panathenaic, and Marathonian Games.¹⁷⁵ Although the Marathonian games were a local festival, the Isthmian and Nemean games were two of the Panhellenic stephanitic festivals; the four Nikai clearly show elevation of the Panathenaia into exalted company. The inscription *kalos* on the *bema* further exalts the musician's talents. We do not find mention of Alkimachos in other sources, but clearly he must have been one of the star performers who traveled from contest to contest in the latter part of the century.¹⁷⁶ The vase may have been intended as a personal commission for him¹⁷⁷ or else may have served as a souvenir for an admiring fan.

Not everyone in Athens approved of these hotshot musicians, as made clear by Pherekrates in the play fragment previously cited. Aristophanes frequently targeted the musical professionals in plays such as the *Clouds*, *Frogs*, and *Thesmophoriazusae*; in the *Clouds*, Aristophanes refers to the aforementioned Phrynis in his critique of modern music and educational practice (966–72). Audiences could be equally fickle and harsh in their treatment of musical celebrities, as recorded in Satyros' Hellenistic *Life of Euripides* regarding Timotheos of Melos:

[They say that] when Timotheos [was hissed?] by the Greeks because of his musical innovations and was in such deep despair that he decided to

lay hands upon himself [i.e. commit suicide], Euripides alone ridiculed the audience in turn and, perceiving the greatness of Timotheos' art, he consoled him with the most encouraging words he could find, and in particular he collaborated with Timotheos in writing the proemium of the *Persians* and, upon winning, Timotheos [immediately] ceased to be despised.¹⁷⁸

A few Athenian vases may, like the comedies of Aristophanes and Pherekrates, satirize the professional musicians. An unattributed column krater from the mid-fifth century depicts a satyr in the exact guise of a mortal kitharode, complete with long robes and jaunty sash on his instrument, playing between the seated figures of Hermes and Dionysos.¹⁷⁹ While this may simply be a comic image of a satyr mimicking a mortal, the scene may also poke fun at the professional *mousikoi agones* specifically. Even more suggestive is a bell krater by Polion from later in the century, depicting an aulete in elaborately patterned robes who holds his pipes and encounters three elderly satyrs with Thracian kitharas (Fig. 17).¹⁸⁰ A curious inscription above the heads of the satyrs proclaims them as *oidoi panathenaia* [singers at the Panathenaia]. Because satyr plays were evidently not performed at the Panathenaia, some scholars have suggested that the scene represents a costumed dithyrambic chorus.¹⁸¹ Is it possible, however, that the scene instead mocks the mortal contestants in the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*? The use of satyrs for the musicians may imply comic jest rather than mean-spirited derision.

Controversy over professional musicians continued into the next century, with strong criticism from Plato and Aristotle. In the *Politics* (1341b9–14), Aristotle makes a clear distinction between a musical education suitable for citizens and a “technical education,” by which he means education in the kithara and other professional instruments: “We reject, then, a technical education in instruments and in performance on them. By ‘technical’ education we mean that which equips people for competitive performance. The player does not pursue it to improve his own virtue, but to promote the pleasure of the listeners – a depraved pleasure, at that – and for this reason we reckon the task to be appropriate not to free men, but to menials.”¹⁸² The evidence of vase painting, however, suggests that such attitudes were only part of the story, at least in fifth-century Athens. While the more conservative decried the dramatic musical innovations of the virtuosi, the *demos* on the whole enjoyed the displays. Representations of *mousikoi agones* in the fifth century transform from essentially elitist images of performers among an aristocratic audience to scenes that emphasize the performer's own talent and victories. With Periklean emphasis on the performances comes more widespread interest; the vases attest to the popularity of the musicians among everyday Athenians and place the *agones* squarely in the democratic domain.

MUSIC AND THE THEATER

In Classical Athenian theater, music and song formed an important part of both tragedies and comedies, including songs for the choruses; songs for the chorus plus one or more actors; solo songs [*monodiai*], especially in tragedies of the later fifth century; recited passages with musical accompaniment; and short instrumental compositions.¹⁸³ Although the lyrics to the songs are preserved in surviving plays, only two fragments of any actual musical compositions for the theater survive: a short fragment from Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, and another from Euripides' *Orestes*.¹⁸⁴ The sources make it clear that the preeminent musical instrument of the theater was the aulos.¹⁸⁵ While the *choros* was made up of Athenian "citizen-amateurs" (at least until the fourth century B.C.), both the poet-playwright – who was generally responsible for all the songs, music, and choreography – and the aulete chosen to play the music during the performance were professionals. They were appointed by the *choregoi*, financial sponsors of the productions who were Athenian citizens appointed by the city. Evidence suggests that the *choregoi* drew lots to determine who would have first pick of the available auletes. Clearly the right aulete had tremendous influence, for during the performance it was he, more than the playwright, who drove the action. He apparently stood in the orchestra together with the members of the chorus, perhaps even in the very center near the permanent altar [*thymele*]. He may also have moved with the chorus as part of the stage action, and was occasionally addressed by the actors as part of the dialogue. The aulete was certainly visible to the audience at all times and was most closely bound to the chorus.

The prominent inclusion of an aulete is often our best clue to the theatrical nature of a scene in Athenian vase painting. However, in the vast majority of cases, it is difficult to determine whether a particular image has a theatrical inspiration; painters generally treat what may be derived from theater as if it were "real," thus maintaining the stage illusion.¹⁸⁶ The few scenes in which an aulete is joined by apparent members of the chorus are exceptions, confirming their close connection. These scenes are predominantly associated with comedy and satyr play, with tragic choruses being much harder to recognize. Many of the comic chorus images with auletes predate the official introduction of comedies into the City Dionysia of 486 B.C., suggesting that even before the birth of theater, music was part and parcel of its predecessors, the rowdy *komos* processions in costume and the performance of dithyrambs.¹⁸⁷ Among the surviving examples is an amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686, which shows an aulete playing before a trio of men who are dressed as knights and mounted on men playing horses.¹⁸⁸ The scene reveals that Aristophanes' own *Knights*, produced over a century later, was part of a long tradition of such comic choruses; however, by Aristophanes' time the subject had virtually died out in vase painting.



101. Unattributed calyx krater with comic scene; ca. 415–410 B.C. Malibu, CA, The J. Paul Getty Museum (82.AE.83). Photo: © The J. Paul Getty Museum.

A notable exception is a calyx krater in the Getty Museum (Fig. 101), which from its initial publication has inspired many to postulate a link with Aristophanes' *Birds*, produced in 414 B.C.¹⁸⁹ The scene is clearly in the iconographic tradition of comic choruses: A frontal-faced aulete, standing in the center, is flanked by two actors in bird costumes with large artificial phalli. The actors are dancing, reminding the viewer that the songs of the *choros* were accompanied by choreographic movement. The central placement of the aulete visually reflects his role in the action and may also recall his physical position in the orchestra. His frontal face directly confronts the viewer, adding to the performative nature of the scene and the position of viewer as audience member. He wears an extraordinarily elaborate garment decorated with

animals and even a charioteer, which further characterizes him as a professional virtuoso, although there is no inscription giving his name.

Images of tragic choruses with aulos accompaniment, meanwhile, are practically nonexistent. A likely exception is a Mannerist pelike dating from the Early Classical period, with each side depicting a piping aulete – in patterned chiton and wearing a *phorbeia* – and a dancing maenad whom we might interpret as an actor in costume.¹⁹⁰ On one side, the maenad is shown with frontal face, which probably indicates her state of *enthousiasmos* while having a definite masklike quality. This maenad also appears to be executing a dance step, recalling the movements of the tragic *choros*. Both maenads carry swords and hold aloft the limbs of dismembered animals. Although no specific theatrical production can be confirmed, we are reminded of the lost plays of Aischylos featuring maenad choruses, the *Bacchae* and *Bassarids*.

The most iconographically rich scene of theatrical production appears on the name vase of the Pronomos Painter, a volute krater dating from the late fifth century (Fig. 102).¹⁹¹ The well-known scene on the krater's obverse shows the aftermath of a satyr play (or possibly the moments just before), with the members of the *choros* and the three main actors – portraying Herakles, Papposilenos, and a king – standing about in costume holding their masks.¹⁹² Dionysos and his consort Ariadne appear in the upper part of the scene, not interacting with the mortal figures but serving as signs of divine approval and inspiration. A female figure sits on their couch and holds a mask; she may be a personification of satyr play, although her



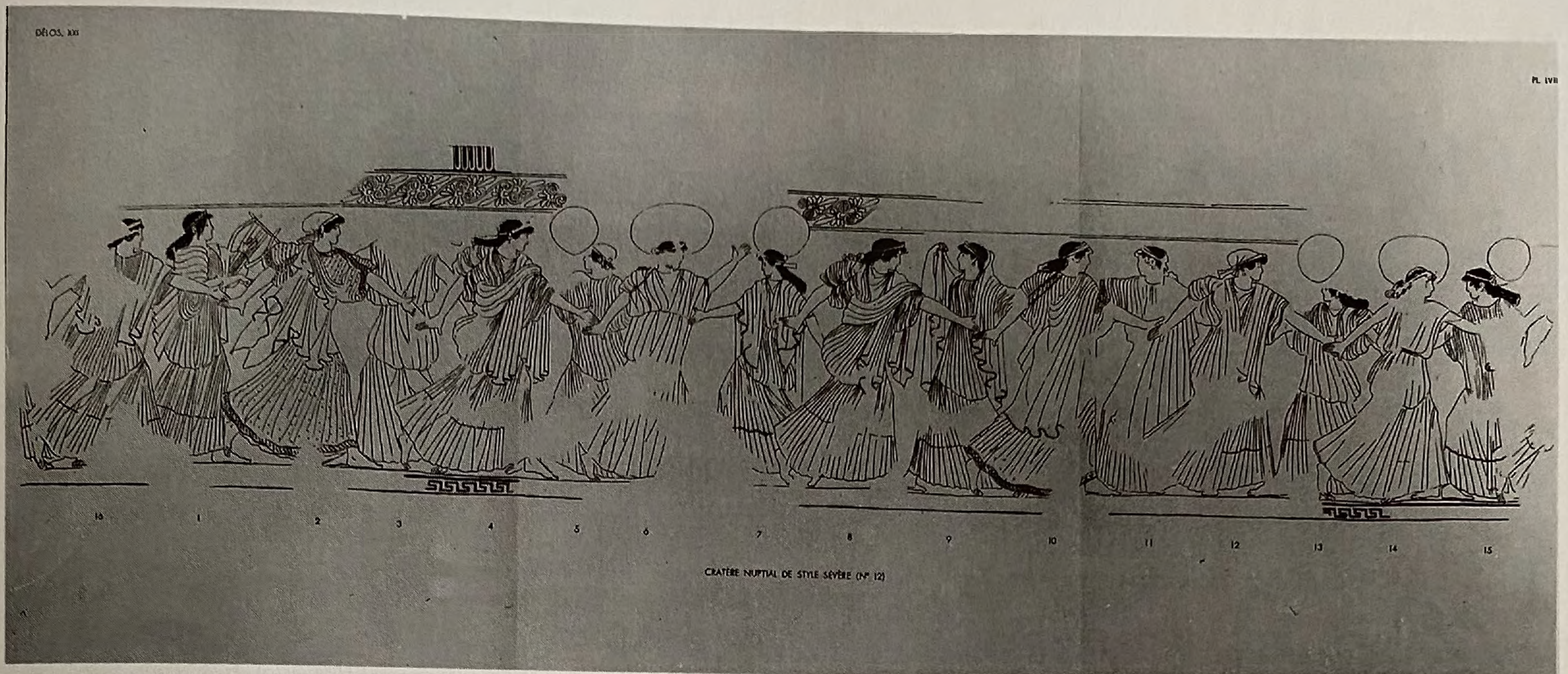
102. Drawing of volute krater by the Pronomos Painter with theatrical scene; ca. 400 B.C. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (81673/H3240). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 69.176).

identity is much disputed. Elaborate tripods at left and right suggest that the play in question may have won a prize at the City Dionysia, the primary festival with theatrical competitions; otherwise the tripods may simply give the setting as the Sanctuary of Dionysos.¹⁹³ The name or subject of the specific satyr play is not known, but has been suggested as a story of Herakles and Hesione, or else Herakles and Omphale.¹⁹⁴

Of particular interest here is the figure seated below Dionysos and Ariadne, dressed in fancy garments and playing the aulos. An inscription identifies this aulete as Pronomos, known from texts as one of the most prominent professional musicians of the day; it was he who invented the aulos that could play multiple modal scales, and, according to some sources, he was the teacher of Alkibiades. His position in the composition visually indicates his importance in the theatrical production. Indeed, the playwright himself, Demetrios, occupies a much less prominent place further left; he is recognizable by the scroll he holds and the chelys lyre in the field next to him. Another man with a chelys lyre stands next to Pronomos; his name is given as Charinos, but his function is not clear.

Other fifth-century scenes may be connected to the performance of dithyrambs, hymns to Dionysos that featured choral singing and auletic accompaniment.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, it is from dithyrambic performance that theater itself arose, and throughout the fifth century the dithyramb continued to be a significant forum for musical innovation. Two cups from the Early Classical period likely show a chorus of boys training or rehearsing with an aulete for the performance of a dithyramb.¹⁹⁶ A particularly striking cup by the Triptolemos Painter features a frieze of dithyrambic performers wrapped in their himatia – some bearded, some youthful – around the interior, together with an aulete; in the tondo, the god Dionysos is joined by a frontal-faced youth pouring wine.¹⁹⁷ A bell krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter from the last quarter of the century appears to depict an actual performance.¹⁹⁸ Six figures, including a piping aulete named Amphilochos, flank an ivy-covered pole with a tripod-shaped base. Four of the bearded men sing to the aulete's music. A frontal-faced man, who seems not to be singing, is identified by inscription as Phyrnichos and may be the late fifth-century comic poet of the same name.¹⁹⁹

It is worth emphasizing again the relative paucity of fifth-century scenes that can be definitely linked to theatrical productions. This situation is particularly surprising given that the theater was a major driving force in contemporary musical innovation: Witness the bold new musical forms of Euripides, lampooned so effectively by Aristophanes. In representing the professional virtuosi of the day and conveying their popularity, vase painters seem to have preferred the iconographic milieu of the *mousikoi agones* to the theater.



103. Drawing of a lebes gamikos by the Syriskos Painter with wedding dance; ca. 470 B.C. Mykonos, Archaeological Museum (970). Courtesy École Française d'Athènes, reprinted from C. Dugas, *EAD*, vol. 21: *Les vases attiques à figures rouges* (Paris 1952), pl. 57.

HARMONIA AND THE WEDDING

Of the numerous ritual occasions that colored the lives of ancient Athenians, the wedding [*gamos*] ranked among the most significant.²⁰⁰ As a rite of passage, the wedding signaled the end of childhood for the bride, while publicly affirming the creation of a new *oikos*. The ceremonies of marriage further served as a foundation for Athenian sociopolitical organization, legitimizing the birth of male heirs who would someday become citizens. It is therefore not surprising that the wedding figured prominently in Athenian iconography throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, although the specific subjects favored by vase painters did change over time. Earlier in this chapter, we considered wedding scenes that include Apollo Kitharoidos; these were most popular in the sixth century in the form of black-figure chariot processions, although a few later red-figure versions do exist. In the fifth century, vase painters conceptualize the wedding in new ways, with greater emphasis on mortal couples and their companions, and the development of new scenes on a wider range of vase shapes. Whereas Apollo Kitharoidos was the predominant nuptial musician of the sixth century, in the fifth century mortal attendants, Eros, and even brides themselves play music in association with the wedding. For the scenes with Apollo, we postulated that his music symbolized wedding songs and also served as a metaphor for marital *harmonia*; this theme remains important for other wedding scenes with other musicians.

Two types of musical compositions were associated with the ancient Greek wedding: the *hymenaios*, performed in conjunction with the ceremony and

104. Lekythos by the Amasis Painter with wedding procession (body) and scene of musicians and girls dancing (shoulder); ca. 540 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Walter C. Baker Gift, 1956 (56.11.1). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



procession, and the *epithalamion*, which, as its name implies, was sung in front of the nuptial chamber [*thalamos*] after the newlyweds had retired for the night. Both artistic and literary sources suggest that music accompanied all stages of the wedding preparations and celebrations, which continued for three days: the day before the ceremony [*proaulia*], which included sacrifices, offerings, and preparatory baths; the wedding itself, which featured not only the ceremony but the procession to the new home; and the day after [*epaulia*], when gifts were presented to the bridal couple.²⁰¹ In the imagery, the presence of musicians highlights the essentially ritual character of the events, in addition to conveying the joy and festivity associated with wedding songs.

A nuptial dance may be depicted on the earliest attested red-figure lebes gamikos, a type of vase specifically associated with the wedding (Fig. 103).²⁰² The function of the lebetes gamikoi – which consist of a bowl, stand, and lid – remains unknown; they have been tentatively identified as containers for food in a ritual meal, vessels

for mixing wine at the wedding feast, or vases for holding perfumed oil during the adornment of the bride, with no single hypothesis earning universal acceptance.²⁰³ The iconography of fifth-century lebetes gamikoi often centers around the bride and her female companions, which seems to be the case in this example, attributed to the Syriskos Painter. Two groups of women circle the vase in a complex choral ring dance, moving in opposite directions, one inside the other. We can compare the reminiscences of the Chorus in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (1142–51): "[I wish] . . . that I could stand in the dance-choruses at noble weddings, as when I was a girl, I whirled near my mother's feet in the joyful bands of my young friends, entering the contests of the Graces, the rivalry of our rich, soft hair, and shadowing my face with scarves, intricately adorned, and with my flowing locks."²⁰⁴

One of the figures on the lebes gamikos, who does not take part in the actual ring dance, plays a chelys lyre; although some commentators have identified this character as Apollo on the basis of the instrument and the wreath on his or her head, it is more likely a woman.²⁰⁵ Although Apollo often wears a long chiton and himation, this figure's costume is more akin to those of the other women on the vase; nor is the wreath an attribute exclusive to Apollo, but may here designate this figure as the chorus leader. One can compare the name vase of the Villa Giulia Painter, a calyx krater that represents young women participating in a dance with joined hands, accompanied by another young woman playing the aulos.²⁰⁶ On the Syriskos Painter's lebes gamikos, it has further been proposed that



105. Detail of the shoulder scene on the lekythos in Fig. 104. Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the young woman plucking at her drapery who leads one of the lines is the bride herself.²⁰⁷

The Syriskos Painter's scene can be likened to a much earlier black-figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter, on whose shoulder appears another wedding dance (Figs. 104 and 105).²⁰⁸ Three groups of three girls each wind their way around the vase; two of the groups move to the right, and one to the left. In one of the groups the girls grasp each other by the wrist – a common dance posture – whereas in the other group the girls clasp hands. The accompanists on the Syriskos Painter's lebes gamikos and the Villa Giulia Painter's calyx krater are female, but the two seated musicians here are male, one playing the aulos and the other holding a chelys lyre. The juxtaposition of these two instruments recalls the description of a wedding procession on the Shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* (18.492–6):

... they were leading brides from their chambers under
shining torches throughout the city, and the loud wedding song was rising;
dancing youths were whirling, and among them
auloi and lyres kept up a cry, and the women
admired them, each standing in her doorway.²⁰⁹

That the Amasis Painter's dance is associated with a wedding is confirmed by the scene on the body of the lekythos, which depicts a cart carrying the bride, groom, and *paranympchos* [groomsman appointed to protect the bride] making its way to the groom's house, followed by another cart filled with guests. The groom's mother, bearing torches, awaits the procession in the doorway of the house.

These scenes evoke not only wedding dances, but also the choral dances that formed part of a young girl's life as she approached marriageable age.²¹⁰ The songs associated with the girl choruses are the *partheneia*, or "maidens' songs," some of which survive in fragments today. A partially preserved *partheneion* by Alkman on a papyrus in the Louvre, for example, speaks of a group of ten girls, one of them acting as the chorus leader.²¹¹ Another *partheneion* fragment by Pindar refers to the aulos accompanying such songs, recalling the female aulos player on the Villa Giulia Painter's calyx krater.²¹² Evidence suggests that girls' choral dances could be enacted in honor of several different deities, most notably Artemis, who protected young girls and aided them in their transition to womanhood and motherhood.²¹³ The *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* (156–64) tells of a chorus of mortal maidens on Delos who sing hymns to Artemis, Apollo, and Leto, a practice historically included in the festival of the Delia; Thucydides attests that the Athenians participated in this festival by sending choruses.²¹⁴ Such public performances of maiden choruses on a dancing ground [*choros*] not only served as worship but essentially placed the young girls on display to potential husbands.²¹⁵ We do not know the original context of the Syriskos Painter's lebes gamikos, but it was found at Rheneia, having presumably

been removed from a grave on Delos during the second Athenian “purification” of the island in 426 B.C. Perhaps this vase was related in some way to the maiden choruses of the Delia, its shape and iconography intertwining themes of the dance, coming-of-age, and marriage.²¹⁶ In the same way, perhaps the Villa Giulia Painter’s calyx krater, with its own chorus of young girls, was intended for a sympotic audience of marriageable young men, showing them the kinds of citizen girls they would be destined to wed. Both scenes can be compared with a white-ground phiale dating circa 450–440 B.C., which shows a ring dance of seven girls, together with a girl playing an aulos, a flaming altar, and a kalathos draped with fillets.²¹⁷ In the scene on the phiale, the altar and the kalathos both suggest a coming-of-age ritual for adolescent girls and a chorus of *parthenoi*.

Whether the vases show a wedding dance or a dance of *partheneia* – occasions that in any case are related to one another – their subjects and compositions also bring to mind the theme of *harmonia*. In *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* (182–206), the poet speaks of a dance on Mount Olympos where the Charites (Graces), the Horai, Harmonia herself, Hebe, Aphrodite, and Artemis dance together to the music of Apollo’s lyre, a quintessential divine expression of harmony. Order and harmony in the dance are further indicated by the inclusion of the Horai, daughters of Themis: Eunomia (Good Order), Dike (Justice), and Eirene (Peace). All of the goddesses exemplify the pleasing qualities of young women engaged in choral dancing – grace [*charis*], beauty, youth, charm, harmony, and joy – like the young women on the vases.²¹⁸ So too on the vases the very motif of dance, with clasped hands and rhythmic circular movement, suggests *harmonia*.

Among the new scenes introduced in fifth-century wedding iconography is the procession to retrieve water for the ritual bridal bath, or *loutrophoreia*.²¹⁹ The bride, *nympheutria* [bride’s attendant], other friends, and a child charged with carrying the loutrophoros for holding the water all made their way to a certain water source, which in Athens was the Enneakrounos fountainhouse in the Agora. Like the dance scenes just discussed, the scenes of the *loutrophoreia* focus on women’s activities and preparations; although the bridegroom participated in a ritual bath himself, this was represented much less often. A young male aulete joins the *loutrophoreia* procession in some of these images, as for example a loutrophoros by the Washing Painter (Fig. 106), who seems to have had a particular interest in both nuptial and musical subjects.²²⁰ A woman with torches leads the group, followed by the youth playing auloi, a girl carrying the loutrophoros, the bride (recognizable by the wreath unrealistically suspended by her head), and two other female figures, one of them with another torch. An Eros flying near the loutrophoros bearer helps to establish the nuptial context and points to the bride’s blissful future. Torches may indicate that the ritual took place at night, but they also have symbolic associations; torches accompanied other phases of the wedding ritual, and fire itself had purifying

qualities, like the water of the bridal bath.²²¹ A loutrophoros by the Naples Painter shows the procession leaving the fountainhouse and making its way to the bride's home: here, a young aulete heads the procession, which also includes a young woman with krotala.²²²

The wedding procession from bride's house to groom's house, which had played an important role in Archaic imagery, continues to be represented during the fifth century, but with a decided shift in preference from the quasi-divine chariot procession to one in which the participants traverse on foot (the *chamaipous*).²²³ Chariot processions do continue to appear, but in substantially decreased numbers relative to the sixth century. While the reason for this change is not clear, it has been suggested that the *chamaipous* procession represents a more democratic approach than the decidedly aristocratic chariot theme. Certainly the *chamaipous* emphasizes the couple's relationship in a more down-to-earth, even romantic, way.²²⁴ Most commonly, the groom leads his bride along with the gesture termed by modern scholars the *cheir'epi karmo* [(placing) the hand on the wrist]. The *cheir'epi karmo* has multiple associations: It implies a legal contract and contains undertones of abduction and possession, but is also found in images of dance, like the Amasis Painter's lekythos (Fig. 105).²²⁵ As such it suggests concord and *harmonia*, an impression reinforced by the fact the husband typically looks back at his new wife, meeting her eyes in a mutual gaze. Sometimes the groom clasps the bride's hand instead of her wrist, particularly highlighting their marital bond.²²⁶

Somewhat surprisingly, music forms part of the *chamaipous* imagery in only a few instances. Apollo himself appears on a Mannerist lebes gamikos that probably shows the marriage of Zeus and Hera.²²⁷ The divine couple, with Zeus leading Hera by the wrist, is accompanied by Artemis holding torches and Apollo with a chelys lyre. Iris runs beneath one of the handles, while a seated Dionysos appears under the other handle. The identity of the musician on a cup by the Amphitrite Painter is more ambiguous; his chelys lyre, laurel wreath, and neatly tied long hair liken him to Apollo, but there are no definite clues elsewhere in the scene to confirm him as god or mortal.²²⁸ He stands beside the doorway of the groom's house, where the groom's mother waits with torches to greet the couple; the groom (wearing a laurel wreath) and bride make their way to the door, the bride's mother behind. The scene on the cup's reverse forms an interesting, although puzzling, pendant: Apollo appears in his chariot, preceded by Hermes, while a goddess (probably Artemis) stands holding his kithara and another goddess (probably Leto) holds a wreath. Is the *harmonia* of the divine family being visually compared to the *harmonia* of the mortal one?

Two other *chamaipous* scenes feature an aulete rather than a kithara or lyre player, much like the *loutrophoreia* images previously discussed. Particularly evocative is a white-ground pyxis by the Splanchnopt Painter, where the procession approaches



106. Loutrophoros by the Washing Painter with procession to bridal bath, including aulos player; ca. 430 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (1453). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. NM 3019, Hermann Wegner).

a flaming altar, signifying the end of the bride's journey and the center of the husband's *oikos*.²²⁹ Hestia, holding a scepter, adds to the hearth's significance.²³⁰ The mother of the bride, grasping torches, precedes the couple to the altar, with the aulete following immediately behind. The aulete, the bride's mother, the groom's mother (also holding torches), and a third woman who gracefully holds up her skirt all walk with measured steps, suggesting they rhythmically follow the beat of the aulos. The aulete on a loutrophoros by the Sabouroff Painter appears at the procession's end rather than as part of it.²³¹ Seated on a *klismos* in the groom's house, where the mother of the groom awaits the newlyweds, he has already performed

a song of celebration; his presence inside the house – itself indicated by a column and roof elements – recalls the *epithalamion* that will be sung and played outside the bridal chamber.²³² He may even be the *thyroros*, a groomsman who will remain outside the *thalamos* door and guard it.²³³ The groom and bride, urged along by the *nympheutria*, make their way toward the house with other female figures bringing up the rear of the procession.

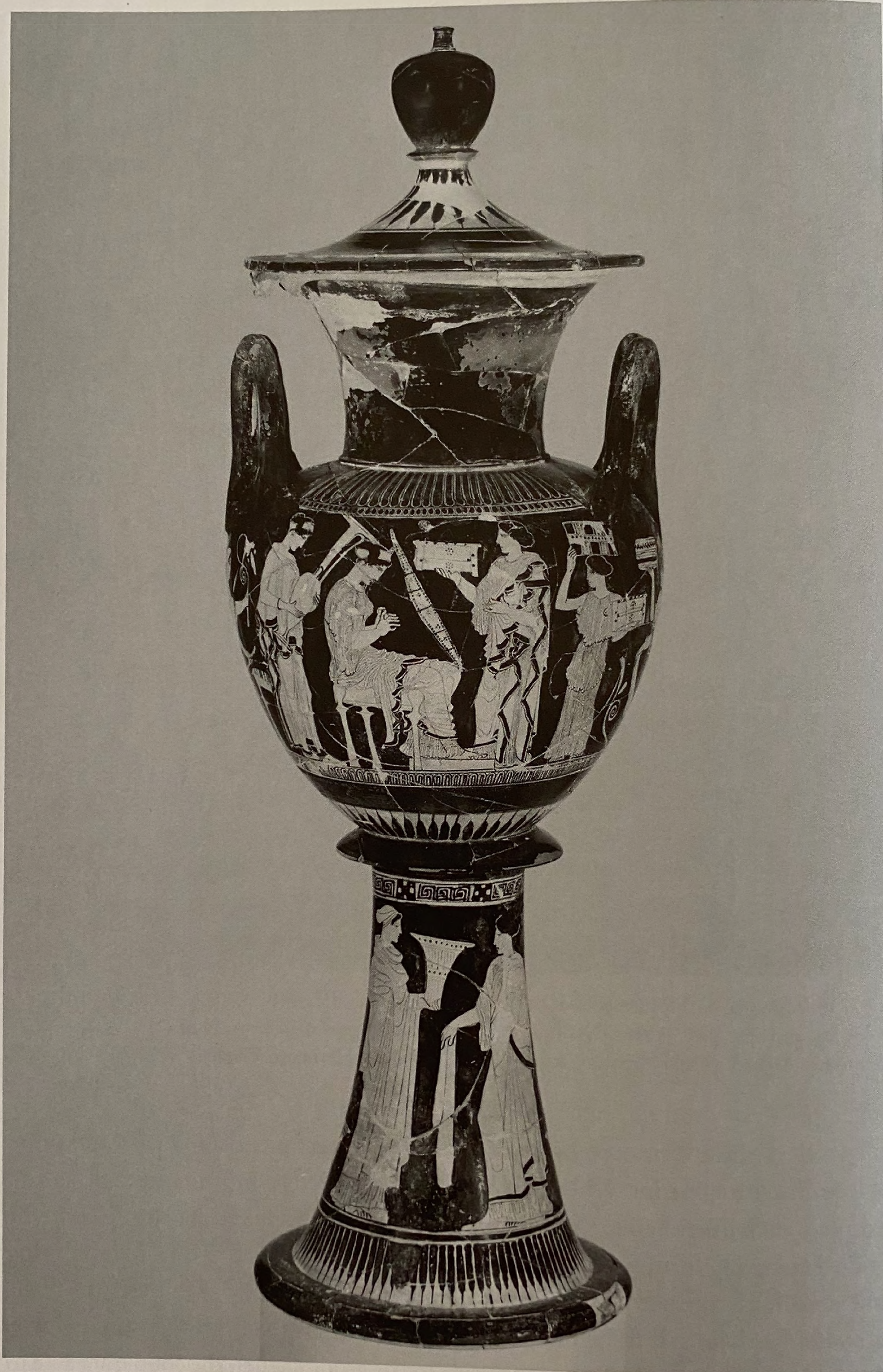
The inclusion of a musician in both *loutrophoreia* and *chamaipous* scenes emphasizes the ritual character of the procession, the instrument providing cadence and rhythm while also drawing the attention of bystanders to the nuptial event. Indeed, this figure visually recalls the musicians who appear in other scenes of *pompai* as well as scenes of sacrifice, discussed earlier in this chapter. This may be a deliberate, metaphorical reference on several levels: On the one hand, like sacrificial rituals, the ritual of the wedding marks an occasion when the relationship between human and divine is renewed and the *harmonia* of the *polis* is maintained. On the other hand, the bride herself can be likened to a kind of sacrificial victim, led along in a series of processions and ultimately bleeding on her wedding night.²³⁴ The prominent inclusion of an altar on the Naples Painter's loutrophoros has been interpreted as an allusion to sacrifice, but we can include the aulete in this equation as well; the same juxtaposition of aulete and altar appears on the Splanchnopt Painter's pyxis. The "sacrifice" of the bride ultimately benefits both the *oikos* and *polis*, a belief further emphasized in the public nature of the nuptial processions. Once again the viewer of the vase acts as a vicarious participant, which in the case of weddings recalls the importance of communal witnesses in affirming the legitimacy of the marriage.²³⁵

Eros himself supplies the music for the *chamaipous* procession on two loutrophoroi by the Washing Painter (Fig. 107).²³⁶ Fluttering between the couple as the groom clasps the bride's wrist, Eros plays auloi in both instances; not only was the Washing Painter apparently the first to include Eros in a *chamaipous* scene, but the two musical Erotes are unique among surviving examples.²³⁷ Whereas in earlier imagery Eros primarily plays music in association with homosexual courtship and male education, in the High Classical period Erotes are found in both wedding-related scenes and domestic gatherings of musical women, where he references heterosexual love. Thus on a calyx krater by the Christie Painter (Fig. 12), a figure of Eros with a wreath flies over the head of a seated woman playing a barbitos, while a woman standing before her holds a phorminx and auloi.²³⁸ The wreath delivered by Eros evokes the wedding and designates the seated woman as a bride or wife. An almost human-scale Eros with a chelys lyre and a fillet appears on a hydria by the Duomo Painter, approaching a seated woman playing an aulos (Fig. 26).²³⁹ Here a young man stands behind the female musician with his hand on her shoulder, his gesture likely specifying him as husband or bridegroom.²⁴⁰

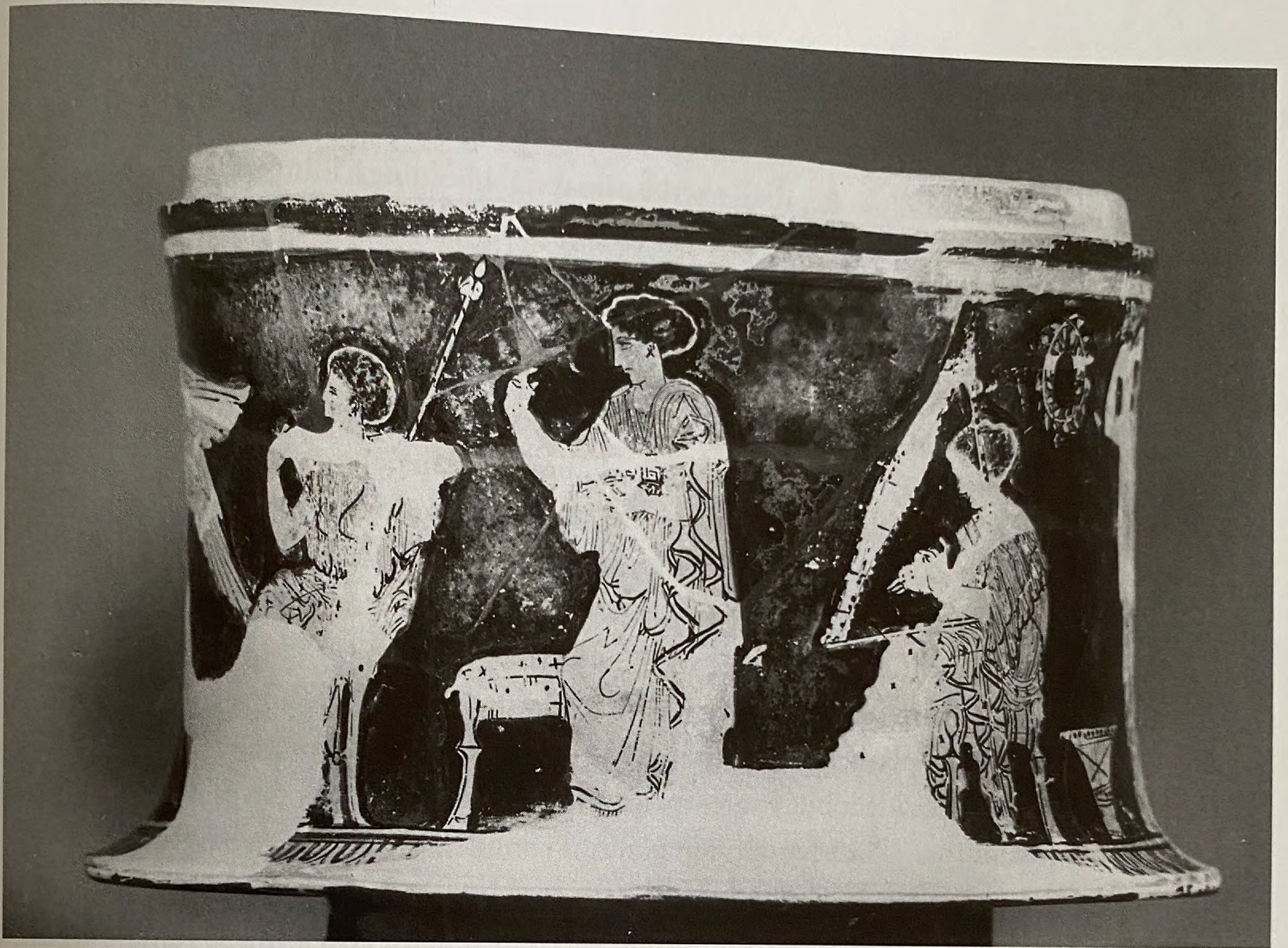


107. Loutrophoros with procession of bride and groom, including Eros playing an aulos; ca. 430–420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (16279). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. NM 3840, Hermann Wegner).

In all of these instances, Eros serves an allegorical function as a personification of love and sexual desire. When bride and groom directly confront one another and gaze into each other's eyes, Eros suggests the seductive and desirable qualities of the bride, emanating forth from her to tantalize her new husband.²⁴¹ The idea of seeing and desiring is further heightened on both loutrophoroi by the presence of the *nympheutria*, who stands behind the bride adjusting her veil; this gesture suggests the *anakalypteria*, or unveiling of the bride to the groom, when the couple are able to gaze on each other for the first time. The music of Eros' aulos, while certainly lending an element of celebration and festivity, also signifies the *harmonia* understood to



108. Lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter with bride, playing the harp, and companions; ca. 430–420 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.35). Photo: All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



109. Pyxis by the Washing Painter with bride, Eros, and female companions, including one playing a harp; ca. 430–420 B.C. Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (541). Photo: Museum (K. Oehrlein).

exist between the couple. Compositionally, Eros is strategically situated between the locked gazes of the bride and groom, directly above the symbolic hand-to-wrist gesture, adding to this meaning.

The Washing Painter further explores the theme of music and the wedding in a series of vases representing either the bride herself or one of her attendants as a musician, including three *lebetes gamikoi* (Figs. 19, 20, 108), a pyxis (Fig. 109), and six fragmentary *loutrophoroi* of the *loutrophoros-hydria* type.²⁴² A roughly contemporary *lebes gamikos* by the Painter of Athens 1454 also depicts a seated bride playing a *chelys lyre*.²⁴³ The association of these musical women with the wedding is not in doubt: Not only do the scenes contain nuptial symbols such as torches or *loutrophoroi*, but almost all of the vases are a distinctively nuptial shape. Moreover, the *loutrophoros-hydria* fragments and the *lebes gamikos* in Athens were found broken and dedicated in the Sanctuary of Nymphe on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis, presumably as part of the marriage rituals.²⁴⁴

The Washing Painter's pyxis (Fig. 109) is said to be from Attica, and although the pyxis itself is not a distinctly nuptial shape, it is a cosmetic vessel predominantly

associated with women. Here music is integrated into a scene of nuptial adornment: The bride sits on a *kline* – a prefiguration of the marriage bed? – binding her hair with the assistance of a small Eros.²⁴⁵ Two flanking women watch her, the one at left plucking gracefully at her drapery, the one at right holding a loutrophoros. The other side of the vase features a duo of wrestling Erotes, who may personify the interior struggles and doubts of the bride, or else the forces of erotic love ready to win her.²⁴⁶ Three women, whose identities are disputed, watch the wrestling match.²⁴⁷ A seated female harpist rounds out the composition, seated under a suspended garland that helps ensure the nuptial character of the scene. Certainly the harpist evokes the music accompanying the bride's toilette, but there may be a deeper significance as well.²⁴⁸ The two Erotes – regardless of what they precisely represent – are in the midst of an *agon*; the harpist, with her intimations of *harmonia* and by extension order and resolution, implies an outcome that will not only be acceptable to the bride but fruitful in every sense of the word.

Harps recur on two lebetes gamikoi by the Washing Painter in New York, where they are played not by attendants, but by brides.²⁴⁹ On New York 07.286.35 (Fig. 108), the bride looks contemplatively at her instrument as she plays, drawn into her own music. Three female companions complete the scene: two before her with boxes and baskets, and one behind with a ribbon-bedecked loutrophoros–hydria for the bridal bath. As is common on lebetes gamikoi, two winged female figures fly under the handles. The reverse and the stand show more female figures gathered with various objects: baskets, boxes, and wool baskets.

The scene on New York 16.73 (Fig. 19) is more complex. Instead of playing her harp, the seated bride balances it precariously (and unrealistically) on her knee with one hand, her other arm casually draped over the back of her *klismos*.²⁵⁰ She gazes up to a small figure of Eros flying overhead, who holds fruit in each hand; we are reminded of the miniature Erotes in the Washing Painter's *chamaipous* scenes, as well as two Erotes who appear with the musical bride on the lebes gamikos by the Painter of Athens 1454.²⁵¹ A draped female figure standing in front of the bride grasps Eros by the leg: This detail may identify her as Aphrodite, a goddess often evoked in wedding scenes by virtue of her connection to sexual union.²⁵² Other figures recall stages of the wedding ceremonies: A woman behind the bride's chair carries a long fillet in her hands, as if preparing to adorn the bride, while at the far left another woman holds two torches, one lit and one unlit. At the far right stands a young girl bearing a basket on her hand and carrying a chest. While the mood here is very similar to that of the other New York lebes gamikos, the presence of Eros and possibly Aphrodite brings the musical bride more visibly into the divine sphere.

The third lebes gamikos with musical scene by the Washing Painter (Fig. 20) is quite different.²⁵³ Rather than playing a harp, here the bride holds a single aulos up to her face and looks through the pipe while grasping its mate in her hand. This

pose is replicated on a loutrophoros-hydria fragment by the same painter, and its meaning is not clear.²⁵⁴ On the lebes gamikos, a female companion stands before the bride playing a harp, balancing the instrument against her body in an improbable and unwieldy stance.²⁵⁵ An intently listening woman stands behind the harpist, slightly leaning on the musician's shoulders.²⁵⁶ Two women frame the scene, one at left balancing a basket on her head and one holding two chests or boxes.

Some have attempted to correlate the Washing Painter's scenes of musical brides with specific stages in the nuptial proceedings, such as the *epaulia*, a ritual on the day after the wedding feast when the bride's friends and family bring gifts.²⁵⁷ However, some of the objects carried by the figures – such as the loutrophoros used to bring water for the bridal bath on New York 07.286.35 and the fillet on New York 16.73 – suggest prewedding preparations, leading others to name the occasion as the adornment of the bride.²⁵⁸ It is highly likely that the Washing Painter – and indeed other vase painters who depict brides and attendants on lebetes gamikoi – did not intend to portray any one specific moment in the proceedings, but rather to collapse time and space in order to suggest the wedding more synoptically.²⁵⁹ We can take New York 16.73 as a case study: The woman with the fillet does suggest the adornment of the bride before the wedding, and may even be the *nympheutria* herself.²⁶⁰ The woman with torches recalls the procession to the groom's house that will mark the conclusion of the actual wedding ceremony. She may be the mother of the bride, who served as one of the torchbearers for this procession and was often shown in vase paintings performing this function.²⁶¹ The fruit carried by Eros may allude to the custom in which the bride eats a *malon* (perhaps a quince or apple) at the groom's hearth as a sign of her acceptance of his love and the final transition into his household; Eros himself suggests the consummation of the marriage.²⁶² Finally, the girl at right with basket and chest may indeed reflect the *epaulia*, or else may refer in a general way to the gifts and new possessions that the bride will gain as part of her change in status, or even the bride's dowry. Even the handsome *klismos* on which the bride sits suggests her future role as mistress of the *oikos*.

The musical instruments carry several meaningful associations. They evoke the songs that would be played during the wedding preparations as well as the music that would have flavored all stages of the wedding ceremony, but they also serve as ideal attributes for the bride, commenting positively on her education and social status. The brides are being visually compared to Muses; the Washing Painter's harpists recall, for example, the harp-playing Muse Terpsichore on the Peleus Painter's Mousaios amphora (Fig. 18).²⁶³ The clear resemblance compliments the bride, in the same way that scenes of the quasi-divine chariot procession, and even actual wedding songs, liken the bride and groom to mythological figures. The Muses themselves were often associated with mythological weddings, as we have

seen. On the Washing Painter's vases, the bride's musical talents further advertise her desirability, just as young men shown playing a chelys lyre earlier in the century were reckoned to be desirable.²⁶⁴ The figure of Eros on New York 16.73 helps make this connection.

Scenes of musical brides become in essence wishes for marital *harmonia*. The bride is given the metaphorical power to bring *harmonia* to her new home, just as the Muses themselves have that ability. We can compare a partially preserved *epithalamion*: "Now may the gods/Give you harmony, and may you soon have children/And children of those children, and reach a ripe old age."²⁶⁵ Another series of lebetes gamikoi, with the bride and a male child among attendants, echoes the desire for children expressed in this fragment.²⁶⁶ We can also compare Odysseus' speech to Nausikaa in the *Odyssey* (6.180–5), wishing the fulfillment of her girlish dreams:

May the gods give you all that you want in your heart;
May they grant you a husband and a house and sweet
Harmony. For nothing is more enduring, nor better,
Than when a man and his wife have a household with
Harmony of mind: it causes much grief to their enemies
And pleasure to well-wishers, and they themselves feel it the most.²⁶⁷

It is worth recalling once more that those scenes of musical brides with documented provenance were discovered at the Sanctuary of Nymphe on the Athenian Akropolis, where they were presumably dedicated with the bride's highest hopes for a bright and harmonious future.

Changes in wedding imagery overall during the course of the fifth century reflect the increased focus in contemporary Athens on the institution of marriage and the production of future citizens, especially evident with the passing of the so-called citizenship law of Perikles in 451/0 B.C.²⁶⁸ According to this decree, only a male child born of an Athenian-born father *and* mother could himself become an Athenian citizen and heir, whereas previously citizenship was also open to male children who had an Athenian father but non-Athenian mother. The *Constitution of the Athenians* (26.4) recounts Perikles' proposal that "... anyone who has not been born from two *astoi* [native citizens] should not share in the *polis*."²⁶⁹ In his *Life of Perikles* (37.3), Plutarch likewise alludes to the law stating that true citizens of Athens were "those born of two Athenians." While the Periklean decree did not forbid marriages between Athenians and foreigners, those between two Athenians received greater validation, so that their offspring experienced the full benefits and privileges of Athenian citizenship.²⁷⁰ Within such a climate, it is not surprising that the bride attains greater attention in the imagery, nor that *harmonia* is literally placed into her hands.



110. Epinetron by the Eretria Painter with wedding preparations of Harmonia; ca. 430–420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (1629). Photo: Museum.

HARMONIA AS PERSONIFICATION

An epinetron by the Eretria Painter (Fig. 110) at first appears to show a nuptial scene like many in the fifth century: the bride seated in the center, flanked by female attendants in various poses and joined by the winged figures of Eros and Himeros [Desire].²⁷¹ In actual fact, the artist has given specific names to all the figures with inscriptions; Aphrodite herself appears at far left, holding a necklace while Eros stands before her with a box. Hebe, daughter of Hera and wife of Herakles, stands at far right with the seated Himeros. And the bride is none other than Harmonia, framed by Peitho [Persuasion] at left and, at right, by Kore (another name for Persephone, perhaps here intended as a personification of girlhood).

Harmonia is the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and thus embodies the reconciliation of love and war. Simultaneously, she is the wife of Kadmos in the cycle of Theban myths. As such she was well known prior to the Classical period, especially in literature, but only during the second half of the fifth century does Harmonia appear in scenes on Athenian vases showing Kadmos and the dragon.²⁷² In each case, Harmonia sits near the dragon at Ares' spring as Kadmos approaches

to confront the beast. Her presence – another case of Athenian painters collapsing time and narrative – alludes to the fact that Kadmos will eventually win her hand.²⁷³

Harmonia also appears in Athenian iconography as a personification, in scenes that do not show Kadmos and that do not directly allude to the Theban myth. These first surface in the later fifth century, a time when artists experimented with the visual representation of allegorical ideas.²⁷⁴ It is unlikely, however, that the Athenians conceived of separate personalities for Harmonia, but rather saw them as interwoven.²⁷⁵ The Eretria Painter's epinetron is an example: Although Kadmos is not shown, Harmonia's relationship with him explains her characterization as a bride. Aphrodite is not just goddess of love, but mother of the bride, and the necklace she holds is probably the one that will instigate trouble for Harmonia's descendant, Polyneikes, and Eriphyle. There is surely an allegorical level of meaning as well: Harmonia, the prototypical bride, is mentally caught between Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on the one hand, and Hebe (youth) and Kore (girlhood) on the other.²⁷⁶ The scene suggests a bride's feelings of hesitation and apprehension prior to her marriage, but Harmonia's very name also implies the *harmonia* that will later exist between husband and wife. This scene, like those of musical brides discussed earlier, conveys the importance of marriage as a social institution and agent for the stability and *harmonia* of both *oikos* and *polis*. The fact that it appears on an epinetron (this one probably a gift or votive object rather than an implement for actual use) is also revealing: Epinetra were placed over the knees of women to allow them to card wool for weaving. Weaving, while necessary to produce fabric for household use, can also be considered a metaphor for the self-sufficiency, order, and harmony of the *oikos*.²⁷⁷

Later in the century, Harmonia appears in the work of the Eretria Painter's student, the Meidias Painter, and on vases by other members of the Meidian workshop.²⁷⁸ The Meidian scenes emphasize Harmonia's connections with Aphrodite, herself a favorite subject of these painters. On a pelike by the Meidias Painter in New York (Fig. 32), Harmonia appears in a gathering celebrating love and the arts, along with Aphrodite, Peitho, Eros, Pothos, Mousaios, his wife Deiope, their son Eumolpos, and four Muses: Kalliope, Melpomene, Terpsichore, and Erato.²⁷⁹ She is named by inscription like the other figures, and emerges at the upper right of the scene from behind a small hill. Like the Eretria Painter's epinetron, the Meidias Painter's pelike may serve as a pseudoallegory, in this case for Athens and specifically Athenian concerns.²⁸⁰ Although Mousaios is dressed as a Thracian, the triad of Mousaios, Deiope, and Eumolpos would surely bring Eleusinian myth to the mind of an Athenian viewer. The Muses danced at the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, so that the juxtaposition of Harmonia and the Muses adds to the care-free atmosphere of love permeating the scene. They have an even closer association

in some fifth-century texts, such as Euripides' *Medea* (824–34), in which Harmonia appears as the Muses' mother:

From of old the children of Erechtheus are
 Splendid, the sons of blessed gods. They dwell
 in Athens' holy and unconquered land,
 Where famous Wisdom [Sophia] feeds them and they pass gaily
 Always through that most brilliant air where once, they say,
 That golden Harmonia gave birth to the nine
 Pure Muses of Pieria.²⁸¹

On the pelike, as in the text, Harmonia and the Muses together suggest the importance of the arts in contemporary Athens. The significance of family relationships is further conveyed by the inclusion of Mousaios' family, as well as the duos of Aphrodite and Harmonia and Aphrodite and Eros. Indeed, Aphrodite here may be Aphrodite Pandemos; together with Peitho, also featured on the vase, Aphrodite Pandemos signified the union of individuals in sexual, social, and even political contexts.²⁸² Harmonia, similarly a personification of musical, nuptial, and civic *harmonia*, becomes an essential component of the vase's interpretation.

Two vases in the manner of the Meidias Painter place Harmonia in a domestic setting together with a host of other personifications.²⁸³ On a lekanis lid now in Naples, Aphrodite (shown with Eros) and Harmonia are the only seated figures. Aphrodite is paired with Klymene and Harmonia with Eukleia [good repute], who extends a garland or fillet while Harmonia holds a basket.²⁸⁴ A wool basket stands on the ground between them. Eunomia [good order] and Pannychis complete the scene. On a pyxis in London, Harmonia and Eunomia sit among the standing characters, including Aphrodite (here with her chariot) and other personifications such as Paidia and Eudaimonia. The juxtaposition of Harmonia with Eunomia is revealing; like Harmonia, Eunomia was tied to ideals of community and harmony, often identified in texts as a daughter of Themis and a sister of Dike [Justice] and Eirene [Peace].²⁸⁵ Also like Harmonia, Eunomia is most visible in fifth-century iconography.²⁸⁶ Together they personify the *harmonia* and *eunomia* desired for the *oikos* and *polis*.

Perhaps the musical connotations of both Harmonia and Eunomia contribute to their importance in late fifth-century images. *Nomos* refers to musical composition as well as to law or custom, and *harmonia* of course was a major concern in fifth-century music. Although Harmonia and Eunomia are never shown specifically as musicians, their names would nonetheless have evoked multiple associations; one can compare Apollo himself with his connections to music, justice, and *harmonia*. Indeed, Eunomia (together with Eukleia) appears with Apollo on an oinochoe in

the manner of the Meidias Painter; along with *harmonia*, Apollo brings *eunomia* (compare Pindar, *Fifth Pythian Ode* 5.67).²⁸⁷ Earlier in the century, scenes of sacrifices to Apollo, musical brides, and the like evoked the *harmonia* and *eunomia* present in the Athenian city and its democratic society. Could it be that, at the end of the fifth century, as musical imagery itself was beginning to wane in popularity, personifications and allegories served to make the same kinds of statements? The longing for *harmonia* did not disappear from the Athenian consciousness, but was now visualized in a different form.

MUSICAL REVOLUTIONS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

From the preceding discussion, it becomes clear that Athenian artists and consumers in the fifth century B.C. shared a particular interest in musical themes, resulting in the introduction or reinvention of certain iconographic subjects. Although vase painting remains our most important evidence for the contemporary preoccupation with music, sculpture and now-lost wall paintings also formed part of this trend. Study of the iconography is essential because of the extent to which images not only *confirm* what is hinted at in the literary sources, but also *go beyond* what survives in texts to present a more comprehensive picture of Classical Athenian musical practice and thought. Sometimes the imagery outright *contradicts* the texts; whereas the aulos, for example, attains a debased reputation in later sources, visual representations show its fifth-century perception to be more complex, with the instrument revered as much as reviled.

Interesting and potentially significant patterns emerge when we consider the different musical subjects holistically and examine their relative chronological development. We have already noted the more limited range of musical themes in sixth-century iconography and their general preoccupation with the aristocracy. Scenes of the symposion and komos, for instance, reach their point of greatest popularity and creativity in the late sixth century, with such details as the introduction of the barbitos and the prevalence of erotic behavior suggesting the privileged and luxurious world behind these institutions. Audience members in musical contest scenes of this period likewise tend to be fashionable upper-class men and youths. Female musicians are especially marginalized. Hetairai are the women depicted most frequently with musical instruments; citizen women almost never play them; and even the Muses themselves, if they play at all, usually play only krotala or occasionally the syrinx, neither of which can be considered instruments requiring special talent.

Changes in musical imagery from the end of the sixth century through the fifth seem to reflect larger sociopolitical changes that bring Athens from a more aristocratic society to ostensibly a more democratic one. In the years after Kleisthenes' reforms of 508/7 B.C. – the first real steps toward *demokratia* – we see the

introduction of more musical scenes and motifs related to education. These include school scenes as well as depictions of the ephebic Eros as a musician and the assumption of a more educational persona by Apollo and the Muses. Other representations referring to the lives of young Athenians incorporate musical elements, such as scenes of athletics and homosexual courtship. Sympotic imagery continues to flourish in the early fifth century, still emphasizing the amateur performance of citizen symposiasts. All of these newly created or newly revamped musical scenes demonstrate a desire for *mousike* to play an important role in the new democracy. Education is rightfully forefronted as an essential part of a young citizen's development, as a way to prepare the youth of Athens for an adult life of service to the *polis*. The imagery suggests now what Plato would say a century later: that the grace and *harmonia* afforded by education in *mousike* benefits both the individual and the city at large. These sentiments were also promoted by Damon of Oa as part of his work with Perikles. As far as the imagery goes, however, it is still an education and an idea fundamentally linked to the elite, and the values of the elite remain most visible in early fifth-century iconography.

The repertoire of musical scenes continues to expand and change as the fifth century progresses, a sign of ongoing sociopolitical changes in Athens as well as the city's enhanced position as a center for musical innovation following the Persian Wars. Musical imagery opens up beyond purely elite male pursuits and ideals. Indeed, school scenes, scenes of courtship (with or without musical themes), and athletic scenes (with or without musical accompaniment) steadily decline in popularity as part of a larger trend in Athenian iconography wherein images of women and more civic concerns or activities are increasingly emphasized. This in turn may reflect a more democratic sensibility among artists and consumers.¹ We are reminded of contemporary political maneuvers, among them the reforms of Ephialtes (462 B.C.), which for all intents and purposes removed power from the Areopagos Council and gave it to the assembly and the popular lawcourts, and Perikles' citizenship law (451/0 B.C.), which focused attention on the parentage of citizens and by extension the institution of marriage.² Representations of women playing music in the domestic environment of the *oikos* rank among the most significant and intriguing new types of scene introduced in the Early Classical period; not only do these images imply an education in *mousike* among at least some Athenian citizen women – education unattested in literary sources – but they also suggest lives less repressed and more respected than much modern scholarship has posited. The subtext of these representations links the women to Muses, placing the potential for *harmonia* in the *oikos*, and by extension the city, literally into their hands. The exclusive musical environment of the aristocratic symposion, while it did not disappear completely from Classical Athenian iconography, is supplanted in creativity by depictions of music performed in more public and civic contexts: at weddings, sacrifices, and

theatrical performances, where both participants and spectators – even the viewers of the actual vases – play an important role in the democratic life of the city. On a more metaphorical level, scenes related to music and *ethos* appear with messages for the viewer about the potential pitfalls of music and the need to be musically responsible, especially mythological scenes of Orpheus, Thamyras, and Marsyas.

Alterations in cultural attitudes toward music and musical education are surely mirrored in contemporary imagery. Late fifth- and fourth-century literary sources suggest that the Classical period witnesses a gradual shift in educational foundations away from the traditional training in *mousike* and toward rhetoric and literacy. Is it possible that the imagery reflects this shift?³ Scenes of the symposion are suggestive in this regard; whereas in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, the performance of actual participants has a special emphasis, over the course of the fifth century these representations become more standardized, often with the only performer being a professional female musician. Upper-class men certainly do not cease playing music in later fifth-century vases, but their musical pursuits do seem to be downplayed. It appears that even in the realm of politics, education in *mousike* was no longer considered top priority, especially among politicians after Perikles; Aristophanes lampoons what he regards as the woeful ignorance of contemporary politicians in the *Knights* (188–92):

Demosthenes: Spoilt child of fortune, everything fits together to ensure your greatness.

Sausage Seller: But I have not had the least education. I can only read, and that very badly.

Demosthenes: That is what may stand in your way, almost knowing how to read. A demagogue must be neither an educated [*mousikou*] or an honest man; he has to be an ignoramus and a rogue.⁴

In the imagery, white-ground lekythoi perhaps stand as a last bastion of traditional male education in *mousike*, commemorating deceased young men of the day with chelys lyres and, by extension, the implication of status and *sophrosyne*.

Juxtaposed with the gradual shift away from the elite “gentleman musician” is the meteoric rise of professional musicians, aided by the increased notoriety of the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones* and the steadily growing visibility of Athenian theatrical events. Here the imagery definitely bears out the picture presented in texts of professional virtuosi from throughout Greece flourishing in Athens and presenting the latest, most revolutionary musical innovations. Unlike sixth-century images of musical contests, in which a kitharode can be either easily confused with the god Apollo or upstaged by his aristocratic audience, fifth-century scenes celebrate the individual accomplishments of professional musicians, transforming

them into ancient rock stars lauded by figures of Victory. Like changes in education, the influence of professional musicians was not without controversy; witness the comic gibes of Aristophanes later in the century and the complaints of Plato and Aristotle in the decades following.⁵ Plato's Athenian Stranger explains in the *Laws* (700d–701a):

... as time went on, there appeared as instigators of unmusical law-breaking composers who, though by nature skilled at composition, were ignorant of what is right and lawful in music. In a Bacchic frenzy, and enthralled beyond what is right by pleasure, they mixed lamentations with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, imitated aulos songs with their kithara songs, and put everything together with everything else, thus unintentionally, through their stupidity, giving false witness against music, alleging that music possessed no standard of correctness, but is most correctly judged by the pleasure of the person who enjoys it, whether he is a better man or worse. By creating compositions of these kinds and by choosing corresponding words, they inspired the masses with lawlessness towards music, and the effrontery to suppose that they were capable of judging it. As a result, the audiences, which had been silent, became noisy, as if they understood what is good in music and what is not, and a musical aristocracy was replaced by a degenerate theatrocracy.⁶

Even the lower tiers of professional musicians, namely musically trained hetairai and other entertainers who perform at symposia, receive increased prominence in the imagery. Scenes like the Phiale Painter's name vase (Fig. 56), perhaps depicting auditions, demonstrate the love of professional entertainment and showstopping razzle-dazzle favored by hosts and guests alike in this period. This indeed was entertainment for the new *demos*.

But what happens at the *end* of the fifth century? Once again there is a dramatic change in musical representation, just as there are dramatic changes in Athenian iconography across the board. Most musical subjects, if they had not already dwindled in popularity, fade away completely from the imagery, including the *mousikoi agones*, musical wedding scenes, citizen women musicians, Orpheus, and Thamyras. Certain musical instruments are no longer depicted, including the barbitos, phorminx, Thracian kithara, and spindle-shaped frame harp. Only a few select types of scene featuring musical elements continue to appear in fourth-century Athenian vases, among them symposia and komoi, although their creativity is long gone, leaving behind generic stock compositions. Dionysian images are found, with satyrs and maenads still playing musical instruments on occasion. Strikingly, scenes of Apollo and Marsyas survive into the Late Classical period, perhaps echoing

the wariness of the aulos admitted by Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, the story of Apollo and Marsyas has an uninterrupted longevity in classical art from the fifth century forward, eventually focusing on the satyr's punishment in Hellenistic and Roman art.

Why did musical imagery transform so dramatically at this point? Greek musicians still came to Athens to participate in the *mousikoi agones*, and certainly we can presume music was still played at occasions like weddings and sacrifices, or for relaxation in the home. The answer likely lies in the various metaphorical associations *mousike* held for the Athenians, associations that simply became less relevant and less significant with the passage of time and the changes in the city's fortunes. From early on, *mousike* had been the mainstay of the elite, the foundation of their education and a symbol of their social status, and the imagery showed it as such. But with the advent of democracy and then the coming of the Persian Wars, things changed: Although at first the democracy in Athens was still largely controlled by the old aristocratic families, governance increasingly came into the hands of the *demos*, people for whom *mousike* carried different connotations. Simultaneously, Athens' position as a cultural center grew, with scenes of public performance on vases expressing the ideals of democracy: the viewer as participant, the viewer as audience, hearing the music and thus being made part of the *harmonia* that tied the city together. Music was not solely for the elite anymore, it was for everyone, and Athens was believed to lead the musical world as it did its maritime empire. This belief in Athenian cultural supremacy inspired Perikles to proclaim his city the "school of Hellas," as a leader, a teacher for all Greeks.

Although the Athenian love of music did not end at the close of the fifth century, the Athenian world itself had indeliably, undeniably changed. No longer would scenes of Apollo Kitharoidos bring to mind the supremacy of the Delian League; no longer would scenes of weddings with musical accompaniment recall the *harmonia* of a couple that extended to the *harmonia* of the *polis*. The communal-minded imagery of fifth-century Athens was replaced with an iconography of escapism and individuality, of personal concerns rather than civic. Even Athenian supremacy in the musical realm was increasingly challenged by the spread of theater and *agones* to other cities.⁷ Within the new attitude and mentality of fourth-century Athens, the old ideas of *mousike* as the *harmonia* of the city had no place and found no performance.

CHAPTER I: MUSIC AND IMAGE
IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

1. R. Rehm, *Greek Tragic Theatre* (London and New York 1992); Goldhill 1997; and in Goldhill and Osborne 1999.
2. Trans. R. Lattimore in D. Grene and R. Lattimore, eds., *The Complete Greek Tragedies* (Chicago 1958).
3. The study of Greek music has undergone a certain renaissance in the past two decades, e.g., Barker 1984; Gentili and Pretagostini 1988; Maas and Snyder 1989; Comotti 1989; Barker 1989; West 1992; Anderson 1994; Landels 1999; Mathiesen 1999; Cassio et al. 2000; and Pöhlmann and West 2001. Several new studies appeared during the final preparation of this manuscript, including Martin 2003; Wilson 2003; and the essays contained in Murray and Wilson 2004.
4. See most recently Pöhlmann and West 2001.
5. Bérard et al. 1989.
6. Paquette 1984 works specifically with the imagery; however, his otherwise useful catalogue is made difficult to work with because vase paintings are frequently "chopped up" to show a single figure or instrument. Maas and Snyder 1989 successfully integrates visual and textual source material.
7. Cup by Douris: Berlin 2285, *ARV*² 431, 48, *Add*² 237; Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 88. Amphora by the Berlin Painter: New York 56.171.38, *ARV*² 197, 3, *Add*² 190.
8. The work of a group of French iconographers has been particularly influential in this area. For their methodology, see for example Schmitt-Pantel and Thelamon 1983 and the essays contained in Bérard et al. 1989. Note also Osborne 1991, a review of Bérard et al. 1989. For the question of imagery vs. "real life," see too Zinserling 1977.
9. The "audience" of Athenian vases has been a subject of much scholarly debate, as for example the issue of the Etruscan export market and the controversial proposal that vases are cheap imitations of silver and gold vessels. In this volume, I proceed on the premise that, even if exported to Etruria, the vases were made in Athens and therefore are likely to reflect the experiences of the painters there.
10. Berti and Restani 1988 catalogues an important Italian exhibition in Ferrara, the first and only of its kind. Italian scholars have in recent years been pioneering the study of musical iconography, including the work of L. Beschi, S. Sarti, D. Castaldo, B. Bessi, and others.
11. Musical contests: Vos 1986; Kotsidu 1991; Shapiro 1992a; Shear 2001. Weddings: e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993; Kaufmann-Samaras 1996.
12. Symposion and komos: Murray 1990; Lissarrague 1990a; Schäfer 1997; Bessi 1997.
13. Killet 1994 represents a commendable attempt to gather and discuss scenes of women in a cohesive way, as does Lewis 2002. A few recent articles have considered the female musicians specifically: Neubecker 1990; Goulaki-Voutira 1991; Kaufmann-Samaras 1997; Snyder 1998. My dissertation (Bundrick 1998) considers fifth-century scenes of female musicians in a domestic setting.
14. An important recent work is Castaldo 2000, which concentrates on the musical imagery of the gods in the sixth and fifth centuries (with special emphasis on the sixth). I thank H. A. Shapiro for this reference. Zschätzsch 2002 draws on both literary and visual evidence in the analysis of Greek musical instruments in myth and cult.
15. For the "agenda" of vase painters, Osborne 1991, 270.
16. Barker 1990 and West 1992 for recent discussions of Archaic music.
17. West 1992, 334–6; Comotti 1989, 16–18; also Anderson 1994, 65–71, on Alkman.

18. Anderson 1994, 61–5; West 1992, 330, on Terpander.
19. Trans. West 1992, 338.
20. Anderson 1994, 71–2; Comotti 1989, 23–4.
21. Comotti 1989, 19–21.
22. Musical contests were included on a less significant scale at the Isthmian and Nemean games, but were not featured at the Olympics. The Olympics did have a contest for heralds, which may have included salpinx playing.
23. J. Fontenrose, “The Cult of Apollo and the Games at Delphi,” in W. Raschke, ed., *The Archaeology of the Olympics* (Madison, WI, 1988) 124–6; also West 1992, 337.
24. Compare discussion in Barker 1990 and Beschi 1996.
25. Shapiro 1992a.
26. Peisistratos’ initial period of Athenian tyranny commenced in 561/0 B.C., so if he was involved in the reorganization, it was not as *tyrannos*. See Shapiro 1989, 19–20, and Neils 1992b, 20–1.
27. Shapiro 1992a.
28. Shapiro 1993b.
29. West 1992, Chap. 12, for a concise discussion, as well as Musti 2000; Wilson 2003; Csapo 2004.
30. Trans. Barker 1984, 218.
31. For Lasos, e.g., West 1992, 342–4; Anderson 1994, 82–3; Wallace 1998, 212.
32. Trans. Barker 1984, 235.
33. For example, *Pythian* 1.1–12 and *Pythian* 5.65–7.
34. Trans. Barker 1984, 140.
35. Thucydides 2.40.
36. Compare Musti 2000 and his discussion of a move from an “aristocratic” to a “democratic” music; also Csapo 2004. As Csapo 2004, 229–30, points out, even the language used to describe the “New Music” implies a liberating, all-inclusive, pluralistic art form – the very language of democracy.

CHAPTER 2: REPRESENTING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. Note for example the hugely disproportionate barbitos on the name vase (cup) of the Painter of Agora P 42: *ARV*² 415, 1; Moore 1997, 321, cat. 1422.
2. Maas and Snyder 1989 for stringed instruments; also Landels 1999; West 1992; Mathiesen 1999; Wilson 2004.

3. West 1992, 50.
4. Chelys lyre: Maas and Snyder 1989, 79–99, and Mathiesen 1999, 237–49.
5. Hermes appears with a lyre in the tondo of a cup by Makron: London E 58 (GR 1883.12–8.1), *ARV*² 467, 133, *Add*² 245; *CVA* British Museum 9, cat. 31, pls. 45 and 46.
6. For example, Analatos Painter, Athens Nat. Mus. 313; Paquette 1984, 151, no. L 1.
7. Maas and Snyder 1989, 34. It should be noted that because *lyra* can denote any stringed instrument of its family, it is not certain that Archilochos refers specifically to a chelys lyre.
8. Munich 2243, *ABV* 163, 2, *Add*² 47; Maas and Snyder 1989, 48, fig. 12.
9. Florence 4209, *ABV* 76, 1, *Add*² 21; Carpenter 1991, fig. 248. Cf. Shapiro 1992a, 53, and H. A. Shapiro, “Theseus: Aspects of the Hero in Archaic Greece,” in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Washington, D.C. 1991). Theseus and Ariadne were evidently depicted with a chelys lyre on the Chest of Kypselos: Pausanias 5.19.1.
10. For example, amphora by the Swing Painter, New York 98.8.11, *ABV* 308, 65, *Add*² 82; Maas and Snyder 1989, 52, fig. 16; also amphora akin to that of the Antimenes Painter, Munich J 1269 (1392), *ABV* 281, 16, *Add*² 73; Kossatz-Diessmann 1994, cat. 34.
11. London E 41, *ARV*² 58, 51, *Add*² 164; originally attributed to Oltos in Beazley, reattributed to Euphronios (M. Ohly-Dumm and M. Robertson): *Euphronios* 1990, cat. 36. The outside depicts Theseus and Antiope, and perhaps also a scene of Theseus abducting Helen. See also for the iconography J. Neils, “The Loves of Theseus: An Early Cup by Oltos,” *AJA* 85 (1981): 177–9. A fragmentary calyx krater attributed to Polygnotos shows Theseus fighting the Minotaur while a youth holding a lyre watches: Athens, Agora P 18279, *ARV*² 1030, 32; Matheson 1995, cat. P 37; Moore 1997, 180, cat. 273.
12. London E 189, *ARV*² 1060, 147.
13. An exception is a hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos: Florence 4014, *ARV*² 1060, 144, *Add*² 323; Matheson 1995, cat. PGU 168; Liventhal 1985, figs. 4a–4c. In this gathering of male clients and professional entertainers, one of the women holds a chelys lyre. In the tondo of a cup by the Pedieus

- Painter (Louvre G 13, *ARV*² 86, *Add*² 170; Kurke 1997, 139) a hetaira playing a chelys lyre is embraced by a frontal-faced symposiast or komast.
14. Delphi 8140, unattributed: Metzger 1977; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 455.
 15. Maas and Snyder 1989, 95; Mathiesen 1999, 238. A fragmentary soundbox survives in the British Museum, GR 1816.6–10–501. Also note two tortoiseshell soundboxes at Argos: P. Courbin, "Lyres d'Argos," in *Études argiennes* (*BCH* suppl. 6, 1980), 93–114.
 16. For example, white-ground cup attributed to Douris with youth: Athens, Agora P 43; Moore 1997, 342, cat. 1570.
 17. Brussels A 1020: *ARV*² 743, 2, *Add*² 284; Maas and Snyder 1989, 110, fig. 23. The identification of the instrument as a chelys lyre is accepted by Maas and Snyder, as well as by Landels 1999, 64.
 18. West 1992, 76, suggests the Timokrates Painter shows a *sambyke*, and Paquette 1984, 194, identifies it as a harp. Vases by the Phiale Painter with chelys lyres in profile: red-figure lekythos, once Basel art market, Oakley 1990, cat. 123 ter.; and white-ground lekythos, Berlin F 2450, *ARV*² 1023, 141; Oakley 1990, cat. 141.
 19. Kithara: Maas and Snyder 1989, 53–70; Paquette 1984, 90–127; Sarti 1993; Bélis 1995; Mathiesen 1999, 258–70.
 20. New York 56.171.38, *ARV*² 197, 3, *Add*² 190.
 21. In later Byzantine sources, this sling is called an *aorter*, although its Classical name remains unknown; Maas and Snyder 1989, 67.
 22. West 1992, 55. Maas and Snyder 1989, 68, for cushioning the player's arm, Mathiesen 1999, 266, for protection from perspiration.
 23. Athens, Acr. Mus. Na57 Aa1154, discovered at the Sanctuary of Nymphe on the south slope, *ARV*² 1013, 12; Oakley 2003, 24–5, pl. 2.1–2, citing M. Tsoni-Kyrkou in *Praktika tou XII Diethnous Sunedriou Klasikes Archaeologias Athenas, 4–10 Septembriou 1983* (Athens 1988). A less successful attempt to render a kithara in profile may be found on a hydria in the manner of the Schuvalov Painter: Bern 12409, *ARV*² 1212, 5, *Add*² 347; Maas and Snyder 1989, 77, fig. 16.
 24. Boston 26.61, *ARV*² 383, 199, *Add*² 228.
 25. Pomeroy 1977, 54–5 discusses fourth-century and Hellenistic women poets who made careers from public performance at festivals and theaters. Whether any of them would have played the concert kithara specifically is not clear.
 26. Amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter: Berlin 2161, *ARV*² 221, 7, *Add*² 198.
 27. Amphora by the Berlin Painter: Oxford 1890.30 (V. 274), *ARV*² 203, 100, *Add*² 193.
 28. Barbitos: Snyder 1972; Michaelides 1978, 48–9; Paquette 1984, 170; Maas and Snyder 1989, 113–38; Mathiesen 1999, 249–53.
 29. Compare Euripides' *Alkestis* (341–7), in which Admetos uses the symbol of the barbitos to describe how his life will change with his wife's death.
 30. Ps-Pt., *Hipparch.* 228c; West 1992, 340; Maas and Snyder 1989, 118–19.
 31. For example, in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 175e, repeating what Neanthes of Kyzikos apparently said in his *Annals*. Elsewhere Athenaios preserves a fragment of Kritias in which Anakreon is described as "stimulus of symposia, seducer of women, antagonist of auloi, lover of the barbitos"; the "antagonist of auloi" epithet may reflect growing wariness of the aulos in Kritias' day. See Wilson 2003, 190–5, for discussion.
 32. Maas and Snyder 1989, 39, 113.
 33. Berlin 2160, *ARV*² 196, 1, *Add*² 190; Boardman 1989, fig. 144.
 34. Toledo 64.126, *ARV*² 402, 12bis, *Para* 370, *Add*² 231.
 35. Würzburg 521, *ARV*² 1046, 7, *Add*² 320.
 36. Boston 63.1246, *ARV*² (414.34quater), 1652, *Add*² 234; Gais 1981, 373, cat. 10. The other depiction is a stamnos by the Berlin Painter, Boston 91.227a and 91.226b, *ARV*² 208, 151, *Add*² 195; Gais 1981, 373, cat. 13. See also Shapiro 1994, 134–42. Snyder 1976 first identified the instrument specifically as a barbitos and considered it relevant to the meaning of the scene.
 37. J. Griffith, "Aegisthus Citharista," *AJA* 71 (1967), 176–7, suggests that the presence of the barbitos is the result of confusion with a character described in the *Odyssey*. M. Davies, "Thoughts on the *Oresteia* Before Aeschylus, III. Aigisthos *Psaltēs*, A Reconsideration of the Boston *Oresteia* Krater," *BCH* 93 (1969), 248–60, suggests that, in an epic tradition dating from before the *Oresteia*, Aigisthos was characterized as a minstrel.

38. The Berlin Painter stamnos had been previously identified as a death of Orpheus, but was recognized as the death of Aigisthos in F. Hauser, "Orpheus und Aigisthos," *JdI* 29 (1914), 26–32. Vermeule 1966, 20, suggests that perhaps the Dokimasia Painter, for his vase, was influenced by the unmanly characterization of Aigisthos in Aischylos' production. It is difficult to sustain the idea of influence from Aischylos, since although Vermeule dated the Dokimasia Painter krater to after 458 B.C., the majority of scholars now date it ca. 470–465 B.C., e.g. Shapiro 1994, 138.
39. First suggested by Dietrich von Bothmer, as recounted in Vermeule 1966, 16; the Linos connection is also favored in M. Schmidt 1973, 96–8.
40. Snyder 1976. Gais 1981, 379, objects: "Snyder's suggestion... that the lyre or 'barbitos' merely marks Aigisthos as a convivial man who was enjoying his own music when the murderer intruded is valid but misses the point of the similarity of victim iconography shared by Orpheus, Linos, and Aigisthos." It is difficult, however, to make a thematic connection among the three: Orpheus and Linos come across as innocent victims, while Aigisthos is clearly a victim of his own transgressions. More likely the vase painters adopted a compositional scheme they already knew to represent violent murder.
41. Cf. Maas and Snyder 1989, 127–8.
42. Trans. Barker 1984, 178.
43. For *habrosyne*: Kurke 1992.
44. Phorminx: Maas 1976; Maas and Snyder 1989, 139–45; Mathiesen 1999, 253–8. Lawergren 1984 argues against Maas 1976 regarding its ancestry and organology.
45. Maas and Snyder 1989, 4–5, 12–13, for the phorminx in early art and literature. *Phorminx* and *kitharis* are the first words used to describe a stringed instrument in Greek texts.
46. The term "cradle kithara" (in German, *Wiegenkithara*) was adopted in Wegner 1949, 31–2; Wegner proposed that the instrument found in the sixth and fifth centuries was different from the earlier phorminx. Maas 1976 convincingly argues that the Archaic–Classical instrument is the Attic version of the Homeric phorminx, with some refinements.
47. A relatively late image of a phorminx at a symposion appears on a fragmentary calyx krater by Euphronios: Munich 8935, *ARV*² 1619 and 1705 (14.3bis), *Para* 322, *Add*² 152; with further discussion in Chap. 5.
48. For example, stamnos by the Christie Painter, Harvard 1925.30.42, *ARV*² 1048, 38, *Add*² 321; Matheson 1995, cat. CHR 40 and pl. III.
49. Munich 80, *ARV*² 997, 155, *Add*² 312; Oakley 1997, cat. 209.
50. Louvre CA 482, *ARV*² 774, 2, *Add*² 287; Louvre CA 483, *ARV*² 774, 3, *Add*² 287; Queyrel 1992, cats. 1 and 2. The identities of the women are disputed by some: Snyder 1998, 168, identifies the figure in CA 482 as a mortal woman rather than a Muse, while Kaufmann-Samaras 1997 suggests one of the cups may instead represent Sappho.
51. Bélis 1992. See n. 18 and 23 for other vases showing instruments in profile.
52. Oxford 1889.1016 (V. 266); see Chap. 3.
53. For example, female entertainer with phorminx in a komos scene on a pelike in the manner of the Pig Painter, Harvard 1959.188, *ARV*² 566, 8, *Add*² 261.
54. Athens, Nat. Mus., Acr. 439, *ARV*² 860, 2, *Add*² 298; B. Cohen 2000b, 113, fig. 4.4.
55. Thracian kithara: Maas and Snyder 1989, 145–7; West 1992, 55; Cillo 1993; Landels 1999, 67–8.
56. Wegner 1949. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos: Oxford G. 291 (V. 530), *ARV*² 1061, 152, *Add*² 323. See Chap. 4.
57. Maas and Snyder 1989, 145, points out the problems with this instrument's terminology, as does Landels 1999, 67.
58. Pelike by the Painter of Athens 1183 (name vase), *ARV*² 1123, 1; pelike by the Kassel Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 1469, *ARV*² 1084, 17.
59. New York 25.78.66, *ARV*² 1172, 8, *Add*² 339; see Chap. 5.
60. Cillo 1993 suggests that the instrument may have become part of the *mousikoi agones* in the later fifth century, although this cannot be proven.
61. Maas and Snyder 1989, 146, suggests that "any young victor in a musical contest might be flattered to receive a vase that suggests that he is the heir of legendary [Thracian] musicians."
62. Swan's neck: Basel BS 462.

63. Harps: Maas and Snyder 1989, 147-55; West 1992, 70-8; Herbig 1929.
64. Harp in Cycladic art: Younger 1998, 10-13, 71-3.
65. For example, play fragment by Sophokles (fr. 412) speaking of the Lydian *pektis*. Maas and Snyder 1989, 149. Ultimately harps with arched soundboxes (the angle harps) derive from Mesopotamia.
66. Later on Sappho was credited with being the inventor of the *pektis*. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 635b. The terms *pektis* and *magadis* continued to appear in reference to harps until the Hellenistic period, along with the words *trigonos* and *psalterion* [lit. plucked instrument].
67. London E 271, *ARV*² 1039, 13, *Add*² 319; Matheson 1995, cat. PE 16.
68. Athens, Nat. Mus. 15308, *ARV*² 1249, 17; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 339, cat. 216.
69. Unattributed hydria, Berlin F 2391, Maas and Snyder 1989, 163, fig. 15 (detail); Zevi 1938, pl. 1.2; *CVA* Berlin 9, pls. 30 and 31 (there attributed to the workshop of the Washing Painter).
70. Maas and Snyder 1989, 152, n. 94.
71. *Trigonos* first appears in play fragments by Sophokles, Pherekrates, and Eupolis in the second half of the fifth century: Maas and Snyder 1989, 150-1.
72. See Chap. 5 for the Washing Painter vases: New York 07.286.35, New York 16.73, Athens, Nat. Mus. 14791, and Würzburg H 4455 (541). Also depicting this type of harp are a pelike by the Meidias Painter, New York 37.11.23, *ARV*² 1313, 7, *Add*² 362; Burn 1987, 54-9 and cat. M7; and a volute krater attributed to Polion, Ferrara 3033 (T 127), *ARV*² 1171, 1, *Add*² 338; Berti and Restani 1988, 60-1, cat. 5.
73. New York 16.73.
74. Athens, Nat. Mus. 14791.
75. An exception is a pyxis or lekanis fragment possibly in the manner of the Meidias Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 19636, *Para* 479.91bis; Philippaki 1988, on which Mousaios is shown playing a harp.
76. See n. 67, 69, and 72 for references.
77. Brides: New York 07.286.35 and New York 16.73. Companions or attendants: Würzburg H. 4455 (541) and Athens, Nat. Mus. 14791.
78. West 1992, 75, n. 117.
79. In this volume, the terms *aulos* and *auloi* are used, with pipes occasionally appearing for variation; by use of *aulos*, the double form of the instrument (more technically, *diaulos*) is understood, for a musician typically played two *auloi*. *Aulos*: Paquette 1984, 23-37, and catalogue; West 1992, 81-107; Landels 1999, 24-6; Mathiesen 1999, 177-222.
80. As West 1992, 83, points out, the modern oboe has a conical bore in its pipe and the modern clarinet has a cylindrical. The majority of Greek *auloi* had a cylindrical bore, making the *aulos* fall somewhere between a clarinet and a oboe, in strictly technical terms.
81. Heraklion Museum; Younger 1998, 66-8, pls. 10 and 11, 18 and 19 for the sarcophagus, as well as 28-33 for Bronze Age *auloi* generally.
82. Landels 1999, 26. Cf. hydria from Aegina, Berlin A 1; Paquette 1984, 88, no. PG 5. The *aulos* is mentioned only twice in the *Iliad* (10.13 and 18.495), suggesting that the instrument was known during the Geometric period, but was not widespread; contrast the numerous mention of stringed instruments in the Homeric poems. Mathiesen 1999, 178, points out that in *Iliad* 10.13 the *aulos* is associated with the Trojans, suggesting the instrument's Eastern origins. See also West 1992, 82.
83. West 1992, 81. The word *aulos* also meant bellows, leading to some visual puns: Lissarrague 1990a, 43-4.
84. List of surviving examples: West 1992, 97-8. See also A. Bélis, "Auloi grecs du Louvre," *BCH* (1984), 111-12; J. G. Landels, "The Brauron Aulos," *BSA* 58 (1963), 116-19; J. G. Landels, "Fragments of Auloi Found in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 33 (1964), 392-400; J. G. Landels, "A Newly Discovered Aulos," *BSA* 63 (1968), 231-8.
85. London E 270, *ARV*² 183, 15, *Add*² 187; West 1992, pl. 25. For the *phorbeia*: Bélis 1986 and Mathiesen 1999, 218-22.
86. Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 456b-c, referring to the adoption of the *phorbeia* by Marsyas: "Marsyas, so it seems, controlled the violence of his breath with a *phorbeia* and mouthbands and so beautified his face and concealed its distortion." Trans. Wilson 1999, 72.
87. The *phorbeia* is occasionally worn by players of the *salpinx* on vases, further supporting this hypothesis: e.g., cup by the Scheurleer Painter, once Beverly Hills art

- market, Summa Galleries sale catalogue 1 (1981) no. 9; and cup in the manner of the Nikosthenes Painter, Geneva 20152 (*ARV*² 133, 9bis), *Para* 333, *Add*² 177; J. Chamay, "Notice consacrée à deux vases attiques," *Geneva* 31 (1983), 23–6. The *phorbeia* is also sometimes worn by participants in the komos: cup by Epiktetos, London E 38, *ARV*² 72, 16, *Add*² 167.
88. The remainder of this section, as well as the Marsyas discussion in Chap. 4, builds on a paper delivered by the author at the Archaeological Institute of America annual meetings in Philadelphia, January 2002: "Another Look at the Aulos" [abstract: *AJA* 106 (2002), 261]. Martin 2003 appeared while the present manuscript was under review and independently reaches similar conclusions, particularly regarding the textual evidence and as a response to Wilson 1999.
89. Trans. Barker 1984, 177.
90. Trans. Barker 1984, 132–3.
91. Compare Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 616e–f; see Chap. 4.
92. Trans. Barker 1984, 179.
93. Trans. B. Perrin in the Loeb edition, quoted also in McKinnon 1984, 206–7.
94. Wilson 1999, 58; cf. also Wilson 2003, 2004 (although see p. 273). Beschi 1996 likewise envisions a conflict between aulos and stringed instruments played out in Classical Athens.
95. For example, in Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos* (Leipzig 1899); Curt Sachs, *Die Musik der Antike* (Potsdam 1928). See discussion of the historiography in McKinnon 1984.
96. Paris, Cab. Méd. 509, *ARV*² 77, 91, *Add*² 169; Paquette 1984, 46–7, cat. A28. Cf. cup by the Thalia Painter with a mortal man in a similar pose: Berlin 3251/Florence I B 49, *ARV*² 113, 7; Kilmer 1993, cat. R192.
97. Yale 1913.163, *ARV*² 36(a), *Add*² 158; Reeder 1995, 190–2, cat. 40.
98. The ambiguity of textual references to the aulos is convincingly explored in McKinnon 1984. He does not explore the visual imagery, but his conclusions from the literary evidence alone are well supported by the iconography.
99. For example, Comotti 1989, 69.
100. Vienna 3698, *ARV*² 471, 193, *Add*² 246; Beck 1975, 24, cat. 97.
101. Trans. Barker 1984, 178.
102. Trans. Barker 1984, 271.
103. Vienna IV 697, *ARV*² 1075, 11, *Add*² 326.
104. Hydria by the Duomo Painter, London E 191, *ARV*² 1119, 29.
105. McKinnon 1984, 210–12, reaches the same conclusion from the literary sources. See also Csapo 2004 for recent discussion.
106. Syrix: Haas 1985; West 1992, 109–12; Landels 1999, 69–71; Mathiesen 1999, 222–5.
107. François Vase: Florence 4209, *ABV* 76, 1, *Add*² 21; dinos by Sophilos: London 1971.11–1.1, *Para* 19 (*ABV* 40, 16bis), *Add*² 10–11.
108. Boston 98.887, *ARV*² 774, 1, *Add*² 287; Queyrel 1992, cat. 77.
109. Munich 2304 (J 405), *ARV*² 220, 1, *Add*² 198.
110. Salpinx: West 1992, 118–21; Paquette 1984, 74–83; Landels 1999, 78–81; Mathiesen 1999, 230–4. Military applications of the salpinx: Krentz 1991. Cf. Cordano 2002. Also note P. Valavanis, "La proclamation des vainqueurs aux Panathénées," *BCH* 114 (1990), 350–2, for the possible use of the salpinx to play fanfares of victory. I thank H. A. Shapiro for the latter reference. So too N. B. Crowther, "The Role of Heralds and Trumpeters at Greek Athletic Festivals," *Nikephoros* 7 (1994), 135–55, for competitions from the fourth century B.C. onwards.
111. Trans. E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock in the Loeb edition.
112. Eleusis Museum 707, attributed to the Sappho Painter. Bélis 1984 suggests that the inscription is a form of musical notation, but Pöhlmann and West 2001, 8, more sensibly suggest that the vase painter uses it to convey the instrument's sound.
113. For example, cup by Oltos, Berlin 2264, *ARV*² 60, 64, *Add*² 164; cup by Apollodoros, Vatican, *ARV*² 121, 21, *Add*² 175; calyx krater by Myson, Berlin 3257, *ARV*² 239, 17. The Andokides Painter includes a red-figure Scythian salpinx player on one side of a bilingual eye cup (the other side shows black-figure Scythian archers): Palermo V 650, *ABV* 255, 7, 256, 21, *ARV*² 5, 14, 37,

- 1, *Add²* 66, 67, 150; Neer 2002, 39, fig. 9. Cf. fragmentary column krater with three warriors arming, including one with salpinx, Princeton 1997.69; I thank J. Michael Padgett for the latter reference. A bilingual eye cup by Oltos features a black-figure salpinx player in its tondo: Bryn Mawr P-2155, *ARV²* (56, 23bis), 1621, 1623, *Add²* 164; G. Ferrari, "Eye-Cup," *RA* (1986), 5-20. A salpinx player appears as the shield device of Athena on a fragmentary black-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora discovered on the Athenian Akropolis: Athens, Acr. Mus. 1025; Neils 2001, 132, fig. 93, after B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin 1923), vol. 1, pl. 58.
114. Present location unknown, once Sotheby's London, 5 June 1982, no. 311.
115. New York 1993.11.5 (once Castle Ashby), *ARV²* 455, 8, *Add²* 242; J. Mertens and C. Picón, "Ancient Art at The Metropolitan: Recent Acquisitions by the Greek and Roman Department," *Apollo* 141 (July 1995), 27-8.
116. For example, unattributed krater fragment, Athens, Kerameikos 2896, *AM* 80 (1965), beil. 38.6-7; tondo of a cup by the Scheurleer Painter, Louvre G 73, *ARV²* 49, 186, 170; chous by the Altamura Painter, Berlin 1962.33, *ARV²* 595, 71bis, 1660; *Add²* 265; Nordquist 1991, 68, fig. 8; cup attributed to Epiktetos (J. M. Padgett), private collection, once New York market. I thank J. Michael Padgett for the latter reference. See Nordquist 1991 for satyrs and salpinges.
117. London E 3, *ARV²* 45, 102 and 70, 3, *Add²* 160; Boardman 1975, fig. 66.1-2.
118. Cf. bilingual eye cup by the Schuerleer Painter with warrior youth playing the salpinx on one side, and reveling young komast playing a drinking horn on the other: Louvre G 70, *ARV²* 50, 187, 169, 6, *Add²* 162, 183; Lissarrague 1990a, 71, fig. 51 (detail drawings).
119. Vienna University, 562a, *ARV²* 447, 272, *Add²* 241; Nordquist 1991.
120. Cup attributed to the circle of the Nikosthenes Painter, Cambridge 37.17, *ARV²* 133, 4, *CVA* Cambridge 2, pls. 6.2a-b. The scene lampoons a chariot race with satyrs and nymphs, with the salpinx-playing nymph presumably sounding the start of the race.
121. Unattributed lekythos, discovered to the south of the Akropolis, Athens, Acr. Mus. 1568; *BCH* 90 (1966), 741, fig. 1. This vase is discussed in Serghidou 2001, an article that attempts to link myths of the aulos, evidence for a cult of Athena Salpinx in Argos, literary references to Athena's voice in battle, and the lekythos. Problematic is the author's premise regarding Athena's rejection of the aulos and its role in the city, in which she falls into the trap of assuming a "clear-cut dichotomy between the lyre and the aulos" (p. 60).
122. For example, cup attributed to Oltos with Amazon trumpeter in the tondo, Vatican, Astarita 47, *ARV²* 57, 39, *Add²* 164; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 72.4; lekythos by the Klügmann Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 12782, *ARV²* 1199, 15, L. Zoroglu, "Zwei Lekythoi des Klügmann-Malers aus Kelenderis," *AA* (1999), 143, fig. 7.
123. With only a few exceptions, e.g., oinochoe by the Schuvalov Painter, Ferrara 2496 (T 915), *ARV²* 1207, 14, *Add²* 345; Lezzi-Hafter 1976, cat. S 9; and cup fragments possibly attributed to the Codrus Painter, Florence 21 B 268, Leipzig 591, Chicago Univ., private collection; *ARV²* 1274; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 79.1.
124. Munich 2423, *ARV²* 30, 1, *Add²* 156; Boardman 1975, fig. 43. Cf. reverse of a stamnos by the Eucharides Painter, Hermitage 1549 (642), *ARV²* 228, 30, *Add²* 199, which also includes three Amazons arming, but with the salpinx player at far right.
125. "Testing" the trumpet: von Bothmer 1957, 150. Sounding call to arms: cf. Aristotle, *De mundo* 399a-b (passage translated and discussed in Krentz 1991, 115).
126. London E 167, *ARV²* 571, 77, *Add²* 261; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 70.1.
127. One of the apparent few examples dating after the Persian Wars is a calyx krater fragment by the Kleophrades Painter, Athens, Agora P 10509, *ARV²* 186, 46, *Add²* 187; von Bothmer 1957, 151, cat. IX.59; Moore 1997, 177-8, cat. 257. Although von Bothmer identifies the salpinx player here as an

- Amazon, Moore leaves the identification of Amazon or warrior open.
128. Jenifer Neils has proposed that a figure on the west frieze of the Parthenon (W23) may be a herald holding a salpinx: Neils 2001, 130.
 129. Although krotala are often described as “castanets,” their size and shape as portrayed on vases suggest they were more like slapsticks. Mathiesen 1999, 163–6, on krotala in general.
 130. Trans. Barker 1984, 76.
 131. London E 38, *ARV*² 72, 16, *Add*² 167.
 132. Neils 2000, 222.
 133. For example, New York 13.225.5a–b. Kymbala: Castaldo 1995 and Mathiesen 1999, 170–1.
 134. Castaldo 1995 includes a list.
 135. Ferrara 2897 (T 128 VT); *ARV*² 1052, 25, *Add*² 322; Matheson 1995, cat. CUR 7, pl. 116 a–c. See Chap. 5.
 136. Tympana: Mathiesen 1999, 173–6. The earliest surviving image of a tympanon on an Athenian vase can be found on a fragmentary column krater by the Agrigento Painter, per Carpenter 1997, 74, n. 26: Bologna 258, *ARV*² 575, 22, *CVA* Bologna 1, pls. 50.2–3.
 137. A few exceptions: pelike by the Meidias Painter (New York 37.11.23), where a Muse plays a tympanon; unattributed hydria showing Eros playing a tympanon: Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 6440, *CVA* Copenhagen 4, pl. 154.4; and a dinos by the Dinos Painter, Berlin 2402, *ARV*² 1152, 3, *Add*² 336; Matheson 1995, cat. D 3, pl. 135c, with a satyr and tympanon.
 138. Trans. Barker 1984, 74.
 139. For example, neck of a volute krater by the Kleophon Painter, Ferrara 44894, *ARV*² 1143, 1, *Add*² 334; Matheson 1995, pl. 123a–c. This scene is juxtaposed with a sacrifice to Apollo on the body.
 140. For example, stamnos by the Dinos Painter, Naples 2419 (81674), *ARV*² 1151, 2, *Add*² 336; Matheson 1995, pl. 136.
 141. For example, bell krater by the Curti Painter, Harvard 1960.343, *ARV*² 1042, 2, *Add*² 320; Matheson 1995, pl. 118a–b. Also note an amphora by the Achilles Painter showing the procession of the *thiasos* around the body of the vase: Paris, Cab. Méd. 357, *ARV*² 987, 2, *Add*² 311; Oakley 1997, cat. 2, pls. 2b–3.

CHAPTER 3: MOUSIKE: THE ART OF THE MUSES

1. The word *mousike* may have been coined by Lasos of Hermione; West 1992, 225. The earliest attested uses of *mousike* in literature are Pindar, *Olympian* 1.15, fr. 32, and Epicharmus fr. 91; West 1992, 225, n. 16.
2. Excellent discussion of Greek education during the Archaic period: Griffith 2001.
3. For example, Robb 1994 and Morgan 1999.
4. *Mousikos*, e.g., Plato, *Laches* 188D.
5. For example, Aristophanes, *Wasps* 959, 989; see Barker 1984, 102, n. 14. *Kitharizein* refers not exclusively to the concert kithara but to any stringed instrument and in these cases likely denotes the chelys lyre.
6. Plutarch, *Themistokles* 2.3; Maas and Snyder 1989, 87. Themistokles is said to have retorted that “he might not know how to tune a lyre or handle a harp, but he could take a small and unknown city and make it great and glorious” (trans. Shapiro 1992a, 53).
7. Earlier scholarship postulated a more widespread attainment of literacy, e.g., F. D. Harvey, “Literacy in the Athenian Democracy,” *REG* 79 (1966), 583–635 and H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1948). Recent opinion generally holds that literacy began making headway among the elite after the founding of the democracy but did not become “widespread” among the *demos* nor a staple of Athenian education until the late fifth century and into the fourth: W. Harris 1989; Robb 1994; Morgan 1999.
8. See H. Yunis, “The Constraints of Democracy and the Rise of the Art of Rhetoric,” in Boedeker and Raafaub 1998, 223–40, and A. Ford, “Sophists Without Rhetoric: The Arts of Speech in Fifth-Century Athens,” in Too 2001, 85–109.
9. Plato, *Phaedo* 60e2–61b7. As Anderson 1994, 126, notes, Aristophanes’ knowledge of Sokrates’ lack of musical training may have contributed to his hostility toward Sokratic education as expressed in his plays.
10. Cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 188–92.
11. Trans. Barker 1984, 101–2.
12. Anderson 1994, 142.
13. Boston 98.887, *ARV*² 774, 1, *Add*² 287; Queyrel 1992, cat. 77. Compare the two

- white-ground cups by the same painter, discussed in Chap. 2.
14. For example, Queyrel 1992, 676, and Himmelmann 1998, 111–12, for the Archilochos possibility.
 15. Queyrel 1992 and S. Schmidt 2001, 293–4, discuss Muse iconography. I thank J. Oakley for the Schmidt reference. Murray 2004 discusses the conception of the Muses from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods.
 16. London 1971.11–1.1, *ABV* 40, 16bis, *Para* 19, *Add²* 10; Queyrel 1992, cat. 120. See also D. Williams, “Sophilos in the British Museum,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983), 9–34. Muses appear on another vase by Sophilos in Athens: Nat. Mus. 15165 (Acr. 587), *ABV* 39, 15, *Add²* 10.
 17. Florence 4209, *ABV* 76, 1, *Add²* 21; Queyrel 1992, cat. 121.
 18. “Stesichore” replaces the Hesiodic “Terpsichore”: For possible significance, see A. Stewart, “Stesichorus and the François Vase,” in A. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, WI, 1983), 53–74.
 19. Cf. Castaldo 2000, 123–6, and Queyrel 1992.
 20. Muses holding krotala, e.g., amphora of the Dot-Band Class, Toronto 916.315 (311), *ABV* 484, 12, *Add²* 122; hydria near the Eucharides Painter, Würzburg L 325, *ABV* 398, 5, *Add²* 104; skyphos by the Theseus Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 4498, *Para* 257, *Add²* 130. See Queyrel 1992, 662–3. Muse with aulos: Hermitage 4498.
 21. Queyrel 1992, 679.
 22. Queyrel 1992 and Lambrinudakis 1984 for catalogue; see Chap. 5.
 23. Schwerin 706 (1261), *ARV²* 618, 6, *Add²* 270; Queyrel 1992, cat. 44b.
 24. For example, oinochoe attributed to the Schuvalov Painter, Agrigento T 65, 1506, Queyrel 1992, cat. 41a. Apollo offers a lyre to a Muse: amphora attributed to the Schuvalov Painter, Hermitage 4308, *ARV²* 1209, 50, *Add²* 346; Queyrel 1992, cat. 42b.
 25. Rhodes 14050, *ARV²* 1090, 46; Queyrel 1992, cat. 71. Queyrel 1992, 606, for others.
 26. Cf. Lonsdale 1993, Chap. 2.
 27. For example, lekythos by the Phiale Painter, Hannover 1961.24, *ARV²* 1021, 107bis, *Para* 441, *Add²* 316; Oakley 1990, cat. 107bis.
 28. For example, *Laws* 653c–660c and 664b–671a, although the theme appears throughout Book Two: Lonsdale 1993, Chap. 1.
 29. Kaufmann-Samaras 1992, 687.
 30. Trans. R. Lattimore in *The Complete Greek Tragedies* (Chicago 1958). In the *Republic* (364e), Plato describes Mousaios as a descendant of Selene and the Muses.
 31. New York 37.11.23, *ARV²* 1313, 7, *Add²* 362. See Chap. 5.
 32. For example, Diodorus Siculus 4.25.1 for Mousaios’ Thracian origins; Kaufmann-Samaras 1992, 685–6, for all literary sources relating to Mousaios.
 33. Villa Giulia 64606, *ARV²* 623, 70bis and 1662; *CVA* Villa Giulia 4, pls. 40 and 41; Riccioni 1986.
 34. Beazley initially identified the figure of Mousaios on the Villa Giulia hydria as Apollo in *ARV²* 1662.
 35. London E 271, *ARV²* 1039, 13, *Add²* 319; Matheson 1995, cat. PE 16.
 36. Compare a similar gesture by a Muse on a stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter: Oxford C 207 EF (V. 524), *ARV²* 620, 30, *Add²* 270; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 695a.
 37. Ferrara 6631 (T. 293), *ARV²* 1259, 2; Kaufmann-Samaras 1992, cat. 4; and London, Victoria and Albert Mus. 666.1864, *ARV²* 1259, 4, *Add²* 355; Queyrel 1988, cat. 3.
 38. Collection of Gregory Callimanopulos, currently on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L1982.27.8); van Keuren 1998.
 39. Vatican 16586, *ARV²* 1017, 54, *Add²* 315; Oakley 1990, 75–6, cat. 54.
 40. For discussion of Dionysos’ childhood and its representation on vases: Carpenter 1997, 53–9, van Keuren 1998; J. Oakley, “Athamas, Ino, Hermes, and the Infant Dionysos: A Hydria by Hermonax,” *AntK* 25 (1982), 44–7; Oakley 1990, 19.
 41. Arafat 1990, 39–50, for the birth and infancy of Dionysos and the role of Zeus.
 42. Van Keuren 1998 cites references for the nymph identification (an unpublished account by Dietrich von Bothmer), but she accepts a Muse identification, first suggested to her by Joan Mertens (p. 18) and upheld by Thomas Carpenter in her correspondence with him. In a letter to van Keuren of 19 January 1997 responding to a query, I presented equal arguments for the nymph and

- Muse identifications, which she selectively quotes in her article. On further reflection, I prefer the Muse identification, although my interpretation slightly differs from van Keuren's.
43. Van Keuren 1998, 19–20. Van Keuren cites a twelfth-century Byzantine text for the mythological possibility that the Muses were the teachers of Dionysos, but, as she herself admits, even the possible Hellenistic source of this text postdates the vase by a few centuries.
 44. Thomas Carpenter made a similar suggestion to van Keuren in personal correspondence, as she records in van Keuren 1998, 21–2.
 45. For example, in Oakley 1990, with earlier references.
 46. Compare a gathering of Muses in a domestic interior, the figures identified by inscriptions: Paris, Petit Palais 308, *ARV*² 1040, 22, *Add*² 319.
 47. Literal teachers of Dionysos: van Keuren 1998, 19. Later texts suggest that statues of the Muses were set up in some schools, highlighting their role as patronesses of education: Murray 2004, 379.
 48. Compare van Keuren 1998, 21.
 49. Bell krater by the Villa Giulia Painter, London E 492, *ARV*² 619, 16, *Add*² 270; volute krater by the Altamura Painter, Ferrara 2737 (T. 381), *ARV*² 589, 3, *Add*² 264.
 50. Syracuse 20542, *ARV*² 624, 75, *Add*² 271; Rystedt 1994, 89 and fig. 10.
 51. Munich 80, *ARV*² 997, 155, *Add*² 312; Oakley 1997, cat. 209.
 52. Rystedt 1994, 90–1.
 53. Oakley 1997, 65, noting J. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (Oxford 1938), 16.
 54. This lekythos, like many others by the Achilles Painter, does include a *kalos* inscription: *Axiopēithēs kalos Alkimachou*, but this in itself does not determine ownership. It is striking that this and other *kalos* inscriptions by the painter include a patronymic and also take on a quasi-official look by being stoichedon in form. Shapiro 1987 points out the rather old-fashioned formula of name and patronymic (as opposed to the more updated name–patronymic–demotic) and makes a connection to the Periklean Citizenship Law of 451/0 B.C. Oakley 1997 gathers all the examples by the Achilles Painter and evaluates the evidence; Oakley 2004 emphasizes the funerary nature of the vase as related to the inscription, saying that the male *kalos* inscription provides a “male counterpart” to the females represented, underscoring “the message of *oikos*.” It is worth noting that *kalos* inscriptions with patronymic also appear on some of the Achilles Painter's other white-ground lekythoi with female musicians (see the final section of this chapter).
 55. In *Odyssey* 24.60, the Muses sing a *threnos* [funeral song] for Achilles; Murray 2004, 366.
 56. It is not known when schools were introduced into Athens, although the literary evidence suggests there were schools in Ionia as early as the late sixth century. Many suggest Athenian schools arose after the founding of the democracy, on the premise that organized instruction could best prepare a free youth to assume the responsibilities of citizenship. See Immerwahr 1964 and Robb 1994, 183.
 57. Munich 2421, *ARV*² 23, 7, *Add*² 155; Immerwahr 1990, 67, cat. 389; Harten 1999, pl. 1b–c. See also Neer 2002, 102–7.
 58. Neer 2002, 102.
 59. Cf. Neer 2002, who attempts to contextualize the Pioneer “portraits” within the early democracy.
 60. The probability that these are meant to be humorous jokes is also proposed in Guy Hedreen's review of Neer 2002: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2003.03.20, available on-line at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2003/2003-03-20.html>. I thank H. A. Shapiro for this reference. Keuls 1988, 308, also discusses the group of Pioneer “portraits,” using the phrase “mutual pictorial leg-pulling.”
 61. Compare a psykter by Euphronios with four reclining hetairai (one playing the aulos): Hermitage B644, *ARV*² 16, 15, *Add*² 153; Lewis 2002, fig. 3.18. These “hetairasymposia” have been much debated; Kurke 1997, 135, is surely right to describe these scenes as “fantasies painted for the gaze of male symposiasts” rather than as evocations of actual “Hetärensyposia,” as postulated for example in Peschel 1987. G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 2002), 19–20, suggests the psykter parodies Spartan women. I thank a CUP reviewer for this reference.

62. Berlin 2285, *ARV*² 431, 48, *Add*² 237; Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 88; Neils and Oakley 2003, 245-6, cat. 44.
63. Cf. Immerwahr 1964, 18-19, and Buitron-Oliver 1995, 45. Note an alternative translation in Lissarrague 1990a, 137-8: "Muse, find for me on the banks of the Skamander a place to start my song." For book rolls: Immerwahr 1964, 1973, with further examples listed in Immerwahr 1990, 99, n. 6.
64. For *paidagogoi*: Schulze 1998, especially 23-5 for school scenes, and Harten 1999.
65. Lissarrague 1990a, 138-9.
66. The same Hippodamos appears in a *kalos* inscription on another cup by Douris, subsequently discussed (Getty 86.AE.290).
67. Trans. Barker 1984, 138-9.
68. Berkeley 8.4581, *ARV*² 974, 31, *Add*² 309; Raschke 1985, 177 and fig. 1.
69. Amherst College 1962.74, *ARV*² 413, 22bis, 1651, *Add*² 233; Buitron 1972, 90, cat. 45.
70. For example, Beck 1964, 82, who argues for the "concurrent" theory. Booth 1985 uses Douris' cup and texts to try and show the opposite, that boys learned writing first from about age nine to thirteen, and then music from about age thirteen to sixteen.
71. An idea likewise espoused in Beaumont 2003, 66-8.
72. Robb 1994, 185-8.
73. Melbourne 1644.4; *ARV*² 892, 7, *Add*² 303; Beck 1975, 25, cat. 101. Compare a cup by the same painter in New York (26.60.79), which depicts Nike standing with a schoolboy victor holding a chelys lyre; *ARV*² 891, 1, *Add*² 302; Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 81.
74. Getty 86.AE.290 (ex Bareiss collection), *ARV*² 432, 51bis, *Para* 375, *Add*² 237; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 25 and cat. 93; Neils and Oakley 2003, 246-7, cat. 45. Cf. also cup by Makron, San Antonio 86.134.172; A. Lezzi-Hafter in Shapiro et al. 1995, 147-8, cat. 73.
75. For *sunousia* as a component of *paideia*: Robb 1994, 197-204.
76. For example, column krater by the Pig Painter, New York 41.162.86, *ARV*² 564, 24, *Add*² 260. This older man may, however, be a *paidagogos*. Maas and Snyder 1989, 88.
77. Shapiro 1981b, 142.
78. Naples 81541 (H 3169), *ARV*² 514, 1, *Add*² 253; Weiss 1986, cat. 150. Weiss 1986, 764-8, cats. 134-85 for other representations. Note a unique scene with Eos pursuing a youth with aulos: skyphos by the Amphitrite Painter, private collection, *ARV*² 832, 35, *Add*² 295; Weiss 1986, 768-9, cat. 191. For Eos and erotic pursuit scenes generally, see S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jh. v. Chr.*, *AntK* II Beiheft (1979), 16-21, 81-93; Lefkowitz 2002.
79. In at least one case an inscription names the youth as Kephalos instead: lekythos by the Oionokles Painter, Madrid 11158, *ARV*² 649, 45, *Add*² 276; Lefkowitz 2002, fig. 8. For the controversy, see Weiss 1986, 776-7, as well as C. Benson, "Eos and Kephalos, Eos and Tithonos," in Reeder 1995, 398-9.
80. New York 28.167, *ARV*² 890, 175, *Add*² 302; Shapiro 1992b, 70-1, fig. 3.10. The identification of these two figures as Eros and a mortal youth is not universally accepted. Elsewhere they are identified as Zephyros and Hyakinthos: Beazley in *ARV*²; C. Villard and F. Villard, "Hyakinthos," *LIMC* 5 (Zurich 1990), 549, cat. 44. Nor has a particular function been universally accepted; sometimes called bobbins, objects of this shape are also described as yo-yos: I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik* (Mainz 1983), 154-60. Compare another bobbin fragment with youth seated playing a lyre: Athens, Agora P 5492, Shapiro 1985, 120; Moore 1997, 350, cat. 1638.
81. Simon 1985, 70-1.
82. Shapiro 1985.
83. Villa Giulia 47214, *ARV*² 280, 13, *Add*² 208; Shapiro 1992b, 66-8, and fig. 3.8.
84. In a unique scene on a cup fragment, Eros rapes a youth holding a lyre; Boston 13.94, *ARV*² 1570, 30, *Add*² 389; Shapiro 1992b, 64-5 and fig. 3.6.
85. Naples 86049 (RC 63), *ARV*² 198, 18, *Add*² 191; Greifenhagen 1957, 16, fig. 19.
86. Lekythos with dolphin: Bowdoin Painter, once Basel private collection, *ARV*² 683, 127bis, *Add*² 279; D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, "An Athenian Red-Figured Neck Amphora by the Athena-Bowdoin Painter," in A. Cambitoglou, ed., *Classical Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney* (Mainz 1994), pl. 27.5. Lekythos with salpinx: Vienna, University 562a; Nordquist 1991.

87. See examples listed in Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, as well as R. Hampe, "Alexandros," *LIMC* I (Zurich 1981), 494-529.
88. For example, black-figure amphora by the Swing Painter, New York 98.8.11, *ABV* 308, 65, *Add*² 82; Maas and Snyder 1989, 52, fig. 16.
89. London E 178; *ARV*² 503, 20, *Add*² 251; Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, 180, cat. 38.
90. Berlin F 2291, *ARV*² 459, 4, *Add*² 244; Boardman 1975, fig. 310. Cf. cup by the Briseis Painter, Louvre C 1005 (G 151), *ARV*² 406, 8, *Add*² 232; Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, 179, cat. 35.
91. London E 330, *ARV*² 842, 129, *Add*² 296; Kavaliass 2000, cat. 129 and pl. 193.
92. For example, amphora by the Oionokles Painter, Paris, Cab. Méd. 373, *ARV*² 648, 33.
93. Cup by the Painter of Berlin F 2536 (name vase), *ARV*² 1287, 1, *Add*² 358; Maas and Snyder 1989, 104, fig. 9.
94. For the iconography of white-ground lekythoi see Oakley 2004.
95. Beschi 1991, 55. An exception is a lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter, where the deceased is a woman and the instrument in question is a barbitos: Berlin 3262, *ARV*² 845, 168, *Add*² 296; Beschi 1991, 49, n. 46, figs. 10 and 11.
96. Pindar, *Threnos* 7, trans. W. H. Race in the Loeb edition. I thank J. Oakley for this reference.
97. Maas and Snyder 1989, 89.
98. Cf. Beschi 1991.
99. Boston 01.8080, *ARV*² 1231, *Add*² 352.
100. London D 56; Niddam and Strawczynski 2003, pl. 27.3 [after A. S. Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* (London 1896) pl. 13].
101. Oxford V 543; P. Gardner, *JHS* 15 (1895), 325-9. It is not clear whether the woman (mother?) is also deceased; a young man (father? mourner?) stands to the right of the scene.
102. For example, lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter, Houston 37.9, *ARV*² 847, 205 (where incorrectly identified as 37.7), *Add*² 297; Kavaliass 2000, cat. 214, pl. 143. Lekythos by the Phiale Painter, Berlin F 2450, *ARV*² 1023, 141; Oakley 1990, cat. 141. Lekythos by the Quadrate Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 1957, *ARV*² 1239, 56; Beschi 1991, fig. 15. Lekythos by the Quadrate Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 1937, *ARV*² 1239, 59, *Add*² 352; *CVA* Athens I, pl. 14.2-3. Lekythos by the Painter of the New York Hypnos, Athens, Nat. Mus. 1950, *ARV*² 1242, 12; *CVA* Athens I, pl. 11.1-3. Lekythos by the Group of Berlin 2459, Louvre MNB 1729, *ARV*² 1374, 2, *Add*² 370; Beschi 1991, figs. 6-8. See Oakley 2004, 164, 168.
103. The living encountering the dead: Shapiro 1991, 652-3; Oakley 2004.
104. Louvre CA 612; *ARV*² 1168, 132, *Add*² 338; Beschi 1991, 45, n. 35, fig. 5.
105. Vienna 143; *ARV*² 1383, 1, *Add*² 371; Beschi 1991, 49, n. 42, fig. 9.
106. Louvre MNB 1729, *ARV*² 1374, 2, *Add*² 370; Beschi 1991, 47, n. 39, figs. 6-8.
107. Paris, Petit Palais 338; *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 34.1-3. For the *dexiosis* on white-ground lekythoi, see Shapiro 1991, 654, Oakley 2004.
108. Tampa 86.79, *ARV*² 749, 10, *Add*² 285.
109. Glasgow, Hunterian Mus. D 1970.28, *ARV*² 846, 182, *Para* 423; Kavaliass 2000, cat. 189, pl. 126.
110. Unattributed white-ground lekythos, Louvre CA 3758; H. Froning, "Nachrichter aus Martin-von-Wagner Museum Würzburg," *AA* (1985), 225, fig. 8.
111. Schwerin KG 708, *ARV*² 862, 30, *Add*² 298; Boardman 1988, cat. 1666; Barker 1994, 185-6.
112. Tsiafakis 2000, 373, for this figure.
113. For example, lekythos in the manner of the Painter of London E 342, present location unknown, once Sotheby-Parke-Barnet Galleries, New York (sold 5 April 1963), *ARV*² 671, 9, *Add*² 278; Beck 1975, 20, cat. 58; Schulze 1998, 148, cat. PV 2.
114. Munich 2646, *ARV*² 437, 128, *Add*² 239; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 83, cat. 173. Herakles and Linos in general: Boardman 1988, 833; Boardman 1992; Goulaki-Voutira 1992; M. Schmidt 1995.
115. F. Winter, "Schulunterricht auf griechischen Vasenbildern," *Bonner Jahrbucher* 73 (1916), 282; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 44-5.
116. Boston 66.206, *ARV*² 291, 18, *Add*² 210; Boardman 1988, cat. 1667.
117. Bologna 271, *ARV*² 590, 7, *Add*² 264; Boardman 1988, cat. 1673.

118. See Chap. 5 for sixth-century scenes of Herakles as kitharode, which have no connection to the Linos scenes.
119. Herakles does appear in a komos setting on three surviving fifth-century vases: column krater, Paris, Petit Palais 326, *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 21.5 (playing barbitos, with Hermes and a satyr playing the aulos); stamnos by Polygnotos, Florence 4227, *ARV*² 1028, 11, Matheson 1995, cat. P 11 (playing the aulos with two dancing satyrs); stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, once Lugano and New York market, *ARV*² 1052, 23bis, 1680, *Add*² 321; Christie's New York (June 2000) (similar to the Florence stamnos).
120. Trans. Barker 1984, 136–7.
121. Black-figure examples, e.g., pelike by the Acheloos Painter with two boxers high-stepping to the music of the aulos, New York 49.11.1, *ABV* 384, 19, *Add*² 101; amphora, London B 361, Raschke 1985, 188, fig. 4 (diskoboloi and akontists).
122. Trans. S. Miller 1991, 39.
123. Trans. S. Miller 1991, 43.
124. Raschke 1985 provides a useful catalogue of depictions, although her list is not complete.
125. For example, unattributed skyphos with an acrobat on one side and on the other an aulete holding his instruments as if preparing to play: Tampa 86.93, Neils 1992a, 176, cat. 47.
126. For example, reverse of an amphora by the Eucharides Painter, New York 07.286.78, *ARV*² 227, 9, *Add*² 199; Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 22.
127. Basel Kä 425, *ARV*² 430, 31, *Add*² 236; Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 51.
128. London E 164, Raschke 1985, 189, fig. 7.
129. For example, the sculptor Myron; Pollitt 1972, 56–60, and 1974, 218–28.
130. Pollitt 1974, 227.
131. Diogenes Laertius 7.46, trans. Pollitt 1974, 219. Cf. Stewart 1990, 138–9. As Stewart points out, the sculptor Pythagoras may have based his name on the philosopher Pythagoras, accounting for his interest in *rhythmos* and *symmetria*, harmonic proportions, and motion in general.
132. Ceccarelli 2004, 92, n. 4: "I do not think that the *pyrrhiche* had a strong practical utility in preparation for war."
133. Male pyrrhic dance: Poursat 1968; Scarpi 1979; Wheeler 1982; Lonsdale 1993, 137–68; Delavaud-Roux 1993; Ceccarelli 1998, 2004.
134. Trans. Barker 1984, 289. Compare Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 628.
135. Trans. Lonsdale 1993, 137.
136. Kyle 1992, 94–5, for the Panathenaic pyrrhic; Wilson 2000, 36–40; Ceccarelli 2004, 93–9.
137. Neils 1992b, 16, for the inscription.
138. Ceccarelli 2004 believes the event dates from before the Kleisthenic democratic reforms.
139. For example, black-figure, white-ground lekythos by the Athena Painter, New York 06.1021.75; Poursat 1968, fig. 19. See Poursat 1968 and Ceccarelli 1998 for further catalogue. One of the finest examples is a pelike attributed to the Theseus Painter, San Antonio 86.134.157, *Para* 257; Shapiro et al. 1995, 114–15, cat. 56.
140. For example, cup by Epiktetos, Vatican 16575 (506), *ARV*² 73, 27, *Add*² 168; Poursat 1968, fig. 14; Poursat 1968 and Ceccarelli 1998 for other examples.
141. Villa Giulia 22679; see most recently J. Hurwit, "Reading the Chigi Vase," *Hesperia* 71 (2002), 1–22, especially p. 15 for the aulete.
142. New York 21.88.2; Richter and Hall 1936, cat. 11.
143. On a cup by Euphronios, ex Hunt Collection, the pyrrhic dancer wears greaves in addition to a helmet; Ceccarelli 1998, cat. 58 and pl. 7. See also Ceccarelli 2004.
144. Compare a cup attributed to the Euergides Painter (R. Hampe) or in the manner of the Epeleios Painter (D. von Bothmer); Heidelberg 74/1; Ceccarelli 1998, cat. 59 and pl. 7. Here an aulete stands between two pyrrhic dancers who face away from one another (but look back toward the aulete).
145. Louvre G 136, *ARV*² 231, 78, *Add*² 200; Poursat 1968, cat. 8 and fig. 15.
146. Also note a fourth-century statue base discovered on the Athenian Akropolis representing a victorious pyrrhic chorus: Kyle 1992, 95, fig. 61.
147. Trans. J. Henderson in the Loeb edition.
148. Virginia Mus. 79.100, *Add*² 402; R. Guy, "A Ram's Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos," *Arts in Virginia* 21 (1981), 2–15; J. Neils in Shapiro 1981a, cat. 32; B. Cohen 2001, 241–2.

149. Geddes 1987 for fifth-century male costume; B. Cohen 2001, 242, for the costumes here.
150. J. Neils in Shapiro 1981a, 86, suggests instead that this figure may be a “professional bard called upon to entertain.”
151. Autochthony and ethnicity in this period: H. A. Shapiro, “Autochthony and the Visual Arts in Fifth-Century Athens,” in Boedeker and Raaflaub 1998, 127–51 (with brief mention of this vase on p. 139), as well as B. Cohen 2001.
152. Cf. tondo of a cup by the Dokimasia Painter, with youth playing the aulos before a large bedecked krater: Florence PD 56, *ARV*² 412, 6; *CVA* Florence 4, pl. 126.
153. Trans. Mathiesen 1999, 144. *Skolia* in general: Mathiesen 1999, 141–51.
154. Florence 3949, *ARV*² 376, 90; Lissarrague 1990a, 129 and fig. 99; Immerwahr 1990, 88, cat. 549, pointing out that “pile” should be “phile.” The custom of the myrtle branch is mentioned in Pollux 6.108 (as noted by Lissarrague), as well as Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1366.
155. For the “flute girls”: Starr 1978 and Wilson 1999, 83–5. Among literary references to auletrides: Xenophon, *Symposion* 2.1; Plato, *Protagoras* 347 c–d; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1371; see Kemp 1966, 217, n. 3, for others. Aristotle’s *Constitution of the Athenians* (50) reveals that the wages of the auletrides were fixed at two drachmas, enforced by the city’s *astynomoi*; this regulation implies that they were sometimes hired for much more. See Starr 1978, 406, for discussion of the text.
156. Munich 2619A, *ARV*² 146, 2, *Add*² 179; F. Lissarrague, “Around the Krater: An Aspect of Banquet Imagery,” in Murray 1990, 200–1 and pl. 19b.
157. Cf. two vases with symposiast holding a barbitos next to a krater: cup by Douris, Louvre G 127, *ARV*² 427, 1, *Add*² 235; Lissarrague 1990a, 35, fig. 21 (line drawing); and cup by the Triptolemos Painter, Louvre G 245, *ARV*² 366, 86; Lissarrague 1990a, 35, fig. 22 (line drawing). On the Dourian vase, an aulos case is suspended from one arm of the barbitos, so that both major sympotic instruments are represented.
158. Plutarch, *Table Talk*, 3.9.2.657d; Lissarrague 1990a, 8. Compare side B of a calyx krater by Euphronios, where a barbitos is suspended over a large dinos and a symposiast dips a small pitcher into the vessel of newly mixed wine: Munich 8935, *ARV*² 14, 3bis, 1619, *Para* 322, *Add*² 152; with further discussion in Chap. 4.
159. Vatican G 71, *ARV*² 28, 14, *Add*² 156; Boardman 1975, fig. 35.
160. N. Slater, “The Vase as Ventriloquist: *Kalos*-Inscriptions and the Culture of Fame,” in E. A. MacKay, ed., *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and Its Influence in the Greek and Roman World* (Leiden 1999), 157. Cf. amphora by Euphronios: Louvre G 30, *ARV*² 15, 9, 1619, *Add*² 152.
161. Trans. Barker 1984, 171.
162. *Politics* 1333a31 et passim.
163. Barker 1984, 172, n. 2. See also Ford 2004.
164. *Politics* 1340b20.
165. See Peschel 1987 and Schäfer 1997, who arrive at similar conclusions.
166. It is often difficult to distinguish among categories of female “professionals”: hetairai, pornai, or entertainers who may or may not provide sexual services. For this problem, Kurke 1997 and Lewis 2002.
167. Toledo 64.126, *ARV*² 402, 12bis, *Para* 370, *Add*² 231; *CVA* Toledo I, pls. 55–56.
168. Vatican, *ARV*² 427, 2, *Add*² 235; Bérard et al. 1989, figs. 19 and 20.
169. See J. Boardman in Boardman and Kurtz 1986; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990; Price 1990; M. Miller 1999, all with references to earlier scholarship; note that these articles reach quite different conclusions. Boardman and Kurtz 1986, 68–9, for those vases that have inscriptions referring to Anakreon.
170. Louvre G 220, *ARV*² 280, 11, *Add*² 208; Boardman and Kurtz 1986, 48, cat. 9.
171. Boston 13.199, *ARV*² 588, 73, *Add*² 264; Boardman and Kurtz 1986, 49, cat. 32.
172. Cleveland 26.549, *ARV*² 563, 9, *Add*² 260; Boardman and Kurtz 1986, 49, cat. 33.
173. Getty 86.AE.293 (ex Bareiss collection), *ARV*² 407, 8bis, *Para* 372, *Add*² 232; Boardman and Kurtz 1986, cat. 20; Kurke 1992, figs. 1 and 2.
174. For example, Lissarrague 1990a, 11–13, and most recently M. Miller 1999. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990 speaks of gender ambiguity.

175. For example, K. DeVries, "East Meets West at Dinner," *Expedition* 15 (1973), 32-9; Shapiro 1981b, 139-40; Boardman and Kurtz 1986; B. Cohen 2001, 246-7.
176. Kurke 1992, 97-104, for the Anakreontic scenes, the meaning of *habrosyne*, and related words generally.
177. M. Miller 1999, 252. Although Miller concludes that the scenes represent transvestites, some of her points can actually be used to support the Ionian reading.
178. Cf. Peschel 1987 and Schäfer 1997, as well as Jacquet-Rimassa 1999, who focuses on Attic and South Italian scenes from 440 B.C. onward. It should be noted that citizen men play music more frequently in the komos scenes of this period than in scenes of the symposion.
179. Villa Giulia 3584, *ARV*² 1028, 15; Matheson 1995, cat. P 15 and pl. 9. Compare also stamnos by the Peleus Painter, London E 453, *ARV*² 1039, 8, *Add*² 319; Matheson 1995, cat. PE 11 and pl. 86. For Polygnotan sympotic scenes, Matheson 1995, 283-7.
180. For more on these gestures, see Chap. 4.
181. Naturally there are exceptions, e.g., bell krater by the Lykaon Painter, London E 495, *ARV*² 1045, 8, Matheson 1995, cat. L 8 and pl. 177, which shows a symposiast playing the aulos; and a bell krater by Polygnotos, where a symposiast plays the barbitos and sings: Bologna 16428 (308), *ARV*² 1029, 28, *Add*² 317; Matheson 1995, cat. P 29 and pl. 41.
182. Poursat 1968; Goulaki-Voutira 1996; Ceccarelli 1998.
183. One of the exceptions may be a pyxis that includes a female pyrrhic dancer as well as a statue of Artemis: Naples 81908 (H3010); Ceccarelli 1998, cat. 51 and pl. 23.
184. Naples Stg. 281, *ARV*² 1045, 9, *Add*² 320; Matheson 1995, cat. L 9 and pl. 70.
185. Louvre G 480, *ARV*² 1084, 12, *Add*² 327; Poursat 1968, 589, cat. 34. Note hydria by the Kassel Painter showing a nude pyrrhic dancer before a female auletris, but also including a man leaning on a staff: Sorrento 214576, Ceccarelli 1998, cat. 36.
186. Hydria by Polygnotos: Naples 81398 (H3232), *ARV*² 1032, 61, *Add*² 318; Matheson 1995, cat. P 67. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos: Florence 4014, *ARV*² 1060, 144, *Add*² 323; Matheson 1995, cat. PGU 168; Liventhal 1985. Compare also an unattributed contemporary hydria in Copenhagen (Nat. Mus. 7359) with similar scene; see Liventhal 1985, who identifies all three of these hydriai as scenes of hetairai and professional entertainers. She goes a step further, however, by suggesting that the vases were prizes in professional competitions among hetairai. See also B. Scholz, "Akrobatinnen in Attika und Unteritalien," in Schmaltz and Söldner 2003, 99-101, for recent discussion.
187. Goulaki-Voutira 1996.
188. Boston 97.371, *ARV*² 1023, 146, *Add*² 316; Oakley 1990, 37-8 and cat. 146, with further references. Lewis 2002, 30-1, suggests that this vase shows a girls' "dance school" rather than a series of professional entertainers. While I believe the identification of professional entertainers is more likely, Lewis is surely right to point out that professional sympotic entertainers are not necessarily to be equated with prostitutes.
189. Robertson 1992, 206-7, believes the vessel to be associated with religious cult rather than with the symposion or hetairai, based on its shape, a sentiment echoed in Lewis 2002, 31. However, phialai would have been used at symposia for libations and are shown on vases as such, e.g., cup by the Antiphon Painter, Berlin F 2303, *ARV*² 336, 10, *Add*² 218; cup by the Triptolemos Painter, Berlin F 2298, *ARV*² 364, 52, *Add*² 223.
190. The painter depicts two girls wearing *chitoniskoi*, dancing without krotala, on a hydria: London E 185, *ARV*² 1019, 86, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, cat. 86. A phorminx is suspended in the field above their heads.
191. Cf. J. Beazley, "Narthex," *AJA* 37 (1933), 400-3. Compare amphora by the Phiale Painter, which shows a woman with narthex and young girl dancing with krotala: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 13, *ARV*² 1016, 37, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, cat. 37. Also note an oinochoe by the same painter with a third such dancer and auletris: Louvre G 574, *ARV*² 1020, 98, *Add*² 316; Oakley 1990, cat. 98. Oakley 1990, 37-40, on the Phiale Painter's clear predilection for scenes of dance and music.

192. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 1942, *ARV*² 1020, 88, *Add*² 315; Liventhal 1985, 43, fig. 3; Oakley 1990, 80-1, cat. 88.
193. M. Miller 1999, 237-9, cites several vases where one side depicts Anakreontic komasts and the other more youthful, himation-clad revelers, e.g., the main subject of her article, stamnos, Tampa 93.29. Miller describes this as an opposition between cross-dressers and non-cross-dressers. However, could it be a case of "aristocratic" revelers vs. "democratic" ones?
194. See Starr 1978, 407.
195. Trans. Starr 1978, 406.
196. Trans. J. Henderson in the Loeb edition.
197. Matheson 1995, 287.
198. Compare Pellizer 1990, 181.
199. New York, Solow Art and Architecture Foundation; Reeder 1995, 208-10, cat. 45.
200. Neils 2000, 225, n. 70, suggests instead that this could be a brothel.
201. Baltimore 48.2712; Reeder 1995, 206-8, cat. 44.
202. The material in this section derives from Bundrick 1998. Snyder 1998, which also discusses these scenes and reaches some of the same conclusions, appeared after my dissertation was completed.
203. New York 23.160.80, *ARV*² 1075, 10, *Add*² 326; Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 110.
204. For three-quarter faces, Korshak 1988 and Chap. 4 of this book.
205. Queyrel 1992, 659-60, on the pros and cons of the identification as Muses. Maas and Snyder 1989, 120, 140-1, identify some of the women as Muses. E. Simon in *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 421-2, favors the Muse identification or else that of the poet Sappho.
206. For example, Plato, *Symposion* 176e; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1335-81; Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 50.
207. For example, Williams 1983, 99-100; Neils 2000, 224-5.
208. Bérard 1989, 89-93, makes this point about the musical scenes and other fifth-century scenes of women as well.
209. Neils 2000, 225.
210. A hydria by the Painter of Brussels A 3096 (name vase) shows a female aulos player seated between two companions, one with a mirror and the other with a chest. The composition, reminiscent of other *Frauengemachbilder*, makes it clear that the musician here is a citizen woman: *ARV*² 1033, 3; Matheson 1995, cat. BR 3 and pl. 179.
211. Among those who favor an identification as "respectable" Athenian women: Zevi 1938, 312-13; Götte 1957, 48; Bérard 1989, 89-93; Matheson 1995, 288-9; Snyder 1998.
212. For example, Götte 1957; Killet 1994.
213. For example, hydria by the Kleophon Painter, Munich 6452, *ARV*² 1147, 62; CVA Munich 5, pl. 231.
214. Immerwahr 1964, 17-48, believes that vase paintings with women reading or holding book rolls support the idea of women's literacy; also Cole 1981, 223-4. Cole rightly suggests caution in interpreting the scenes, allowing for a degree of idealization.
215. The evidence becomes more conclusive regarding the musical education of women in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods: Pomeroy 1977.
216. Antonaccio 2000, 518.
217. Historiographical discussion in Katz 1995, with further references, also S. M. Spencer-Wood, "The World Their Household: Changing Meanings of the Domestic Sphere in the Nineteenth Century," in P. Allison, ed., *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (New York, London 1999), 162-89.
218. For example, Keuls 1993; Petersen 1997.
219. For example, Williams 1983, 100, speaking about London 1921.7-10.2 and similar scenes of female musicians. Sabetai 1993, 74, also seems skeptical of musical education for citizen women/brides.
220. For example, Jameson 1990; Nevett 1998; Antonaccio 2000. Also note N. Cahill, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven, CT, 2002) for houses in that town. All use archaeological evidence to arrive at completely different conclusions than that of Walker 1983, which supports a seclusionary model.
221. Patterson 1998, 125-9; also D. Cohen 1989.
222. The rather stylized and hyperbolic *Oikonomikos* has been interpreted as evidence for women's lack of education, among other things; however, if the more unrealistic aspects are recognized for the hyperbole they are, what emerges is essentially a partnership between man and wife, albeit in

- separate spheres. Compare discussion in S. Murnaghan, "How Can a Woman Be More Like a Man: The Dialogue Between Ischomachus and His Wife in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*," *Helios* 15 (1988), 9–22.
223. Nevett 1998, 13–20; Patterson 1998; C. Patterson, "The Case Against Neaira and the Public Ideology of the Athenian Family," in Boegehold and Scafuro 1994, 199–216, especially 200–3.
224. In the full passage of Aristotle's *Politics* (1259a38–1259b10), the author undertakes a complex comparison of the *oikos* structure to political structures: Patterson 1991, 53, and n. 32. Also cf. Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* (1160b34–35, 1162a16–24), which similarly discusses the separate but complementary spheres of the couple.
225. See Shapiro 1991 and the works of J. Oakley.
226. C. Patterson, "*Hai Attikai*: The Other Athenians," *Helios* 13 (1986), 54–5. As Patterson points out, the male *polites* implies a citizen with political participation (e.g. in the assembly), and the feminine equivalent *politiss* is accordingly very rare in the literary sources. The terms *astoi* and *astai*, however, suggest a type of citizenship and belonging apart from political participation and are used for both Athenian citizen men and women. *Astoi* are clearly differentiated from *xenoi* [strangers, foreigners].
227. See further discussion in Chap. 5.
228. Compare a paper given by the present author at the College Art Association annual meetings in New York (February 2003): "The Fabric of the City: Images of Textile Production in Classical Athens."
229. Cf. Reeder 1995, 210, pointing out that a bride receiving a pot with an image of musical women would "have been delighted to have been identified with musical skills, literacy, prized possessions, and the leisure of a prosperous household."
230. Havana, Lagunillas Collection, *ARV*² 995, 124; Oakley 1997, 137, cat. 174. Stockholm G 2107, *ARV*² 996, 135; Rystedt 1994; Oakley 1997, 139, cat. 185. Oxford 1889.1016 (V. 266), *ARV*² 1000, 195, *Add*² 313; Oakley 1997, 149, cat. 264. Bologna PU 362, *ARV*² 1000, 202; Oakley 1997, 151, cat. 277. The Oxford, Havana, and Stockholm lekythoi all feature *kalos* inscriptions with patronymic; Havana: *Pistoxenos kalos Are-sandrou*; Oxford: *Alkimedēs kalos Aischylidou*; Stockholm: *Diphilos kalos Melanopou*. See n. 54 in this chapter.
231. Brussels A 1020, *ARV*² 743, 2, *Add*² 284.
232. For "mistress and maid" on white-ground lekythoi, most recently, Oakley 2004.
233. Beschi 1991, 43–4, identifies the musicians in the Oxford, Stockholm, and Havana lekythoi as possible images of deceased women. Rystedt 1994, 85, identifies the Stockholm lekythos as a representation of deceased and mourner, noting the "apparent detachment" of the musician.
234. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1260, *ARV*² 1060, 145, *Add*² 323; Matheson 1995, 287–8, and cat. PGU 171.
235. Yatromanolakis 2001, 166. I thank H. A. Shapiro for this reference. Immerwahr 1964, 26, reads the text as "Gods, I begin with sacred words." Compare J. M. Edmonds, "Sappho's Book as Depicted on an Attic Vase," *CQ* 16 (1922), 1–14.
236. The wreath held by Nikopolis is largely faded and can be seen only under raking light on the actual vase. Another object, likely also a wreath, is suspended above the hand of Nikopolis.
237. Warsaw 142333, *ARV*² 300, *Para* 246; Snyder 1997, fig. 13.
238. Ruhr-Universität Bochum S 508; Snyder 1997, fig. 15 (in which the location is given as Wuppertal, Von de Heydt-Museum); Yatromanolakis 2001, pls. 1 and 2. Snyder (1997, 1998) supports the identification of Sappho's pose as a dance step, but Yatromanolakis 2001 does not. Rather, Yatromanolakis 2001 uses the reverse, which shows a young woman wrapped in her himation, to postulate that both sides together show an erotic pursuit, with the woman on the reverse Sappho's unwilling target. This interpretation seems unlikely; Sappho moves forward with her body but looks back with her head, which is not the standard pose of an erotic pursuer. In the standard scheme, the pursuer moves forward and looks forward to the pursued, while the pursued (reluctant or not) also moves forward while looking back. Yatromanolakis describes the scheme on the Bochum vase as "an eternal circle of fruitless pursuit" but it does not seem to fit.

239. Munich 2416, *ARV*² 385, 228, *Add*² 228; Snyder 1997, fig. 14.
240. Beazley in *ARV*² 1573 for the *kalos* inscription, which he also found on a stamnos by the Argos Painter (*ARV*² 288, 1). Female owner: Webster 1972, 60, also Snyder 1998, 115 and n. 15.
241. Snyder 1997; presented with less extremism in Snyder 1998.
242. Beazley in *ARV*² gives the provenance as Vari.
243. It has been suggested that the anonymous female musicians in domestic contexts all represent Sappho and her companions: E. Simon in *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 421–2 (review of CVA Gotha).

CHAPTER 4: ETHOS AND THE CHARACTER OF MUSICAL IMAGERY

1. For Damon, see most recently Barker 1984, 168–9; Wallace 1991a; West 1992, 246–9; Wallace 1994, 1995, 1998, 2004; Raaflaub 2003.
2. For example, West 1992, 246. Wallace 1994 expresses doubt about the authenticity of the claim.
3. See discussion of Damon's exile in Wallace 1994, 2004. Some believe Damon was not ostracized, e.g., Raaflaub 2003.
4. Wallace 1994, 142; Wallace 2004. Ancient sources hint at this possibility, including the Aristotelian (or pseudo-Aristotelian) *Constitution of the Athenians* 27.4; Plutarch, *Aristides* 7.1; Plutarch, *Perikles* 4.2–4; Plutarch, *Nikias* 6.1.
5. For *sophrosyne* and *hubris*: North 1966; Pollitt 1972; Castriota 1992.
6. Trans. Pollitt 1974, 186. It is worth noting that Aristotle's mention of Polygnotos comes in the context of a larger discussion about musical *ethos*.
7. For the *Nekyia* and the Knidian Lesche: Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990; Castriota 1992, 118–25; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 184–6.
8. Trans. Pollitt 1990, 139.
9. Trans. W. Arrowsmith in D. Grene and R. Lattimore, eds., *The Complete Greek Tragedies* (Chicago 1959).
10. Lissarrague 1990a.
11. After Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 2.40a; Lissarrague 1990a, 139.

12. Paris, Cab. Méd. 576, *ARV*² 371, 14, *Add*² 225; Carpenter 1997, pl. 34a–b.
13. Dionysos holds a lyre, but does not play it, on a volute krater by the Pronomos Painter, Naples 81673 (H3240), *ARV*² 1336, 1, *Add*² 365; Zschätzsch 2002, pl. 9b. See Chap. 5.
14. T. H. Carpenter has seen a shift toward more orgiastic representations of Dionysos in the second half of the fifth century, aided by the introduction of tympana and kymbala to the iconography: Carpenter 1997, 113–14.
15. I follow Carpenter 1997 in identifying the women in these Dionysian scenes as nymphs rather than as maenads, with the distinction being that maenads are mortal followers of Dionysos and nymphs are immortal. See also G. Hedreen, "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads," *JHS* 114 (1994), 47–69.
16. Thracian dimensions in Dionysian scenes: Carpenter 1997, Chap. 3.
17. A nymph with phorminx forms part of a Dionysian procession on a stamnos by the Christie Painter, Harvard 1925.30.42, *ARV*² 1048, 38, *Add*² 321; Matheson 1995, cat. CHR 40 and pl. III. Satyrs play concert kitharas in some Late Archaic and Early Classical scenes; see subsequent discussion.
18. Compare a skyphos by the Brygos Painter with nymph playing the aulos on one side and "wing-sleeved" nymph dancing on the other: New York 29.131.4, *ARV*² 381, 176, *Add*² 227; Richter and Hall 1936, cat. 42.
19. Paris, Cab. Méd. 542, *ARV*² 438, 133, *Add*² 239; Buitron-Oliver 1995, cat. 178.
20. Harvard 1960.236, *ARV*² 185, 31, *Add*² 187; Carpenter 1997, pl. 15a.
21. Lissarrague 1990a, 44.
22. For example, calyx krater by the Altamura Painter, Naples Stg. 701, *ARV*² 591, 21, *Add*² 264, Carpenter 1997, fig. 14b; calyx krater by the Altamura Painter, Vienna 985, *ARV*² 591, 20, *Add*² 264, Carpenter 1997, fig. 14a; volute krater attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, Bologna 280, *ARV*² 1052, 27, *Add*² 322, Matheson 1995, cat. PGU 29. Restani 1991 for further discussion of the Dionysian link to stringed instruments.
23. Maas and Snyder 1989, 56–7.
24. For example, F. Lissarrague, "Les satyres et le monde animal," in Christiansen and Melander 1988, 335–51; C. Bérard and

- C. Bron, "Satyric Revels," in Bérard et al. 1989, 131–49; Lissarrague 1990b.
25. Munich 8732 (2344), *ARV*² 182, 6, *Add*² 186. Satyrs with oblique-view faces, e.g., oinochoe by the Chicago Painter: Boston 13.197, *ARV*² 630, 37, *Add*² 272, and Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter, New York 09.221.41, *ARV*² 646, 6, *Add*² 275.
 26. Leipzig, University T 643, *ARV*² 286, 9; *Add*² 209; Beck 1975, cat. 263.
 27. Madness brought by Hera: Carpenter 1997, 35–41.
 28. London E 362, *ARV*² 585, 34, *Add*² 263.
 29. Paris, Cab. Méd. 357; *ARV*² 987, 2, *Add*² 311; Oakley 1997, cat. 2. Oakley 1997, 52–3, points out that the vase is heavily restored, especially the three figures in front of Dionysos. Oakley suggests that the nymph restored with phiale may be instead playing kymbala, based on comparison with a better-preserved and similar Etruscan stamnos by the Painter of London F 484.
 30. Once Borowski collection, auctioned at Christie's New York in June 2000 and there acquired by the Kimbell Museum of Art: Carpenter 1997, pls. 42a–b.
 31. Brussels A 717, *ARV*² 20, 1, *Add*² 154; Immerwahr 1990, 68, cat. 400.
 32. Neer 2002, 89–91, for discussion.
 33. Compare the brief discussion of this vase in Somville 1992, 176–7, also Jacquet-Rimassa 1999, 56ff.
 34. Villa Giulia 3584, *ARV*² 1028, 15; Matheson 1995, cat. P15 and pl. 19. Matheson 1995, 284, suggests that the symposiast's gesture indicates his head "is spinning from too much wine."
 35. Korshak 1988.
 36. Korshak 1987 for examples, although she does not have a separate "music" category. Cf. also Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 74–5, 96–7.
 37. Munich 8935, *ARV*² 1619 and 1705 (14, 3bis), *Para* 322, *Add*² 152; Immerwahr 1990, 64, cat. 363; *Euphronios* 1990, cat. 5. Compare psykter signed by Euphronios, where a frontal-faced nude hetaira drinks wine and listens to the aulos music of another nude hetaira: Hermitage 644, *ARV*² 16, 15, *Add*² 153; Boardman 1975, fig. 27.
 38. Keuls 1988, 306, following Vermeule 1965, 35, suggests Smikros "is trying to silence the instrument," while Martin 2003, 168, believes Smikros is blocking one tube of the aulos, perhaps "to tone down the aulos in some way so that the words of Ekphantides can be heard." I interpret his gesture as more of a salute, as does Neer 2002, III.
 39. Cf. Neer 2002, III–17. The insertion of Smikros here – if it is indeed meant to be the vase painter – recalls the insertion of Euthymides on the Phintias hydria discussed in the previous chapter and may be a humorous conceit.
 40. Vatican G 71, *ARV*² 28, 14, *Add*² 156; Boardman 1975, fig. 35; Immerwahr 1990, cat. 380. The inscriptions are nonsense.
 41. London E 64, *ARV*² 455, 9, *Add*² 243; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 97 and pl. 47; also F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "In the Mirror of the Mask," in Bérard et al. 1989, 162–3 and fig. 227.
 42. For example, bell krater by the Lykaon Painter, where a frontal-faced drinker listens to an aulos-playing symposiast: London E 495, *ARV*² 1045, 8; Matheson 1995, cat. L 8.
 43. Exceptions, e.g., column krater in the manner of the Aigisthos Painter, where a frontal-faced man appears at a symposion with a barbitos-playing man: Bologna 247, *ARV*² 508, 1; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 167, fig. 44. On a fragment by the Pan Painter, a frontal-faced Eros appears with a barbitos: Oxford 1920.58, *ARV*² 556, 103, Greifenhagen 1957, 19, fig. 12.
 44. Würzburg L 507 (HA 120), *ARV*² 181, 1, *Add*² 186. The auletris forms a revealing pendant to the decorously clad wife in the departure scene on the other side. Kilmer 1993, 125, also interprets her gesture as a teasing come-on.
 45. Copulation to musical accompaniment, e.g., stamnos by Polygnotos, Louvre C 9682, *ARV*² 1029, 16, *Add*² 317; Kilmer 1993, no. R898 (barbitos).
 46. Lost, from Vulci; *ARV*² 66, 121, *Add*² 166; Keuls 1993, fig. 75.
 47. Louvre G 51, *ARV*² 32, 1; Kilmer 1993, no. R68.
 48. Cf. unattributed cup with youth holding the head of a vomiting man: Karlsruhe 70.395, *Add*² 393; Schäfer 1997, pl. 28, 1. An aulos case and barbitos hanging in the field suggest that music formed as much a part of the man's overindulgence as the wine. Cf. a volute krater by Euthymides from Morgantina, where the

- vomiting man at right is placed next to a younger man playing the aulos: Morgantina 58.2382, *ARV*² 28, 10, 1620, *Add*² 156; Neils 1995. Vomiting is also a purgative act that ultimately allows the person to feel better, so there may be another, cathartic, implication here.
49. E. Belfiore, "Wine and Catharsis of the Emotions in Plato's *Laws*," *CQ* 36 (1986) 421–37.
 50. Trans. Barker 1984, 180. For Plato's *Laws*: Belfiore (op. cit.) as well as Lonsdale 1993, Chaps. 1 and 3.
 51. Son of Apollo, e.g., Pindar *Pythian* 4.176–7 and Asklepiades (12F6); son of Oiagros of Thrace, e.g., Plato, *Symposion* 179d; Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1.23, 4.905; son of Kalliope, e.g., Timotheos, *Persae* (221–3). See Gantz 1993, 721–5.
 52. Gareizou 1994.
 53. Sikyonian Treasury metopes: P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris 1936), 177–98; G. N. Szeliga, "The Composition of the Argo Metopes from the Monopteros at Delphi," *AJA* 90 (1986), 297–305, especially 299 for Orpheus. Another musician, also playing a lyre, accompanies Orpheus, but the identity of this figure remains unknown.
 54. *Argonautica* 4.891–921. Pindar (*Pythian* 4.171–7) lists Orpheus among participants in the quest, but does not elaborate on his actual role.
 55. Villa Giulia M 354, *ABV* 432, 4, *Add*² III (Briachos Class); Seebass 1991, 19 and fig. 6; Shapiro 1992a, 69.
 56. Death of Orpheus: M. Schmidt 1973; Amyx 1976; Schefold 1988, 81–5; Gareizou 1994, 84 with list, and 100–1 for commentary; Lissarrague 1994, 277–86; Lissarrague 1995, 19–21; Reeder 1995, 392–4 (C. Benson); B. Cohen 2000b, 107–15; Mannack 2001, 90–1. Brygos Painter's workshop, e.g., lekythos by the Brygos Painter, Vatican 17921: *ARV*² 385, 224, *Add*² 228; Gareizou 1994, cat. 32; Schoeller 1969, pl. 23.2. Cf. kylix by the Brygos Painter with Thracian woman running with spear, an abbreviated version of the Death of Orpheus: New York 96.9.37, *ARV*² 379, 156, *Add*² 227; Richter and Hall 1936, pls. 47, 49.
 57. For example, Thracian woman on white-ground cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus., Acr. 439; *ARV*² 860, 2, *Add*² 298; B. Cohen 2000b, 113, fig. 4.4. On tattoos and the Thracians: Tsiafakis 2000, especially 372–6, and K. Zimmermann 1980. Exception to Orpheus being shown in Greek dress: fragmentary hydria by Polygnotos, Princeton 1986.59a–d; Matheson 1995, cat. P 66.
 58. For example, Nolan amphora by the Oionokles Painter, London E 301, *ARV*² 647, 12, *Add*² 275; B. Cohen 2000b, 107, fig. 4.2. For discussion of the two different poses, see Gareizou 1994, 100, also M. Schmidt 1973, 95.
 59. Cincinnati 1979.1: *ARV*² 416, 2 (Lausanne market); *Add*² 234 (London market); Gareizou 1994, cat. 33; Reeder 1995, cat. 128. C. Benson in Reeder 1995, 394, identifies the object protruding from Orpheus' chest as "perhaps a meat spit."
 60. On a neck amphora by the Niobid Painter, Orpheus has dropped the lyre, which tumbles upside-down to the ground beside him as he is speared by a Thracian woman: Brooklyn 59.34, *ARV*² 604, 57, 1701, *Add*² 267; Neils and Oakley 2003, cat. 106. The vicious attack is contrasted on the other side by a calm, civilized act of libation at an altar.
 61. For example, stamnos by Hermonax, Louvre G 416, *ARV*² 484, 17, *Add*² 248; Reeder 1995, cat. 129. See other examples listed in Gareizou 1994.
 62. Basel BS 1411; *ARV*² 414, 34ter, *Para* 373, *Add*² 234; M. Schmidt 1972; Gareizou 1994, cat. 35.
 63. Zürich, University 3477, *ARV*² 414, 34bis, *Para* 373, *Add*² 233; Boardman 1975, fig. 277. A less finely drawn hydria by an undetermined late Mannerist shows the falling Orpheus with three-quarter-view face: Würzburg 534, *ARV*² 1123, 7; Gareizou 1994, cat. 45.
 64. Munich A 2330; *ARV*² 1014, 2, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, pl. 1b. The second amphora by the same painter features a similar composition: Louvre G 436, *ARV*² 1014, 1, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, pl. 1a. The third is also similar, but shows the Thracian woman skewering Orpheus with a spit: Basel Lu 56, *ARV*² 1014, 2bis, *Para* 441, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, pl. 2a. For discussion: Oakley 1990, 29–30. Note B. Cohen 2000b on the significance of Orpheus' garments (or lack thereof).
 65. Cf. Pausanias 9.30.5. This explanation is accepted in Oakley 1990, 29.
 66. Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Katasterismoi* (24.140), third century B.C.: Gantz 1993, 722.

67. Orpheus among the Thracians: Schoeller 1969, 51-3; Hoffmann 1970; Brommer 1973, 507; Amyx 1976; Schefold 1988, 86-8; Seebass 1991, 17-26; Garezu 1994, 84-5 (list), 99-100 (commentary); Lissarrague 1994, 272-7; Lissarrague 1995, 21-3.
68. Pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter: University of Tartu 107, from Cerveteri: *ARV*² 622, 52, *Add*² 271; Garezu 1994, cat. 7.
69. For example, bell krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, Athens, Agora P 16445, *ARV*² 1091, 56; Moore 1997, 191, cat. 330; calyx krater possibly by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, Naples H 2889, *ARV*² 1096; Seebass 1991, figs. 7-10; hydria by the Painter of Tarquinia 707, Paris, Petit Palais 319, *ARV*² 1112, 4, *Add*² 330; *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 18.2-6; pelike in the Manner of the Kleophon Painter, London E 390, *ARV*² 1148, 7, *Add*² 335; Garezu 1994, cat. 12; unattributed bell krater, Corinth 1934.380, Garezu 1994, cat. 24. Other examples are subsequently discussed.
70. Berlin 3172, *ARV*² 1103, 1, *Add*² 329; Garezu 1994, cat. 9.
71. Hamburg 1968.79, *ARV*² 1097, 21ter, *Para* 450, *Add*² 328; Hoffmann 1970, figs. 1-3; Garezu 1994, cat. 8.
72. Hoffmann 1970, 36-7.
73. Trans. Barker 1984, 90. Barker points out that the verb used here for "singing," *epaidein*, is often used to describe the singing of magical incantations, as for example in Plato, *Republic* 608a and *Laws* 812c. Cf. also fragment by Simonides (Page 1962, no. 567) as well as Aigisthos' reproach to the Chorus in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* (1629-32).
74. Portland 36.137, *ARV*² 1120, 3, *Para* 452, *Add*² 331; Amyx 1976; Lissarrague 1994, fig. 5. Paris, Petit Palais 319, *ARV*² 1112, 4, *Add*² 330; *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 18.2-6; Lissarrague 1994, fig. 6.
75. For example, F. Brommer in *Satyrspiele*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1959), 56 for this suggestion.
76. Amyx 1976, 28; Lissarrague 1994, 275-6.
77. New York 24.97.30, *ARV*² 1079, 2, *Add*² 326; Garezu 1994, cat. 26.
78. Oracular head of Orpheus: Schoeller 1969, 69-71; M. Schmidt 1972; Amyx 1976, 29; Schefold 1988, 85; Garezu 1994, 88 (list), 101-2 (commentary); Lissarrague 1994, 286-7; Lissarrague 1995, 23.
79. See Graf 1987 and Freiart 1991. Note the differing locations cited as the "tomb" of Orpheus.
80. Basel BS 481: M. Schmidt 1972, 128-37, pls. 39-41; Matheson 1995, cat. PGU 167.
81. Dunedin, Otago Museum E 48.266 (ex Cook collection), *ARV*² 1174, 1, *Add*² 339; Amyx 1976, 29 and fig. 4.
82. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, *ARV*² 1401, 1, *Add*² 373; Lissarrague 1995, 23, fig. 4.
83. M. Schmidt 1972, 132, also cited in Lissarrague 1995, 23. Schmidt suggests that the head was kept in a cave sanctuary and that the person consulting it would have to descend by rope - she interprets the object held by the man as ropes, as if he has just arrived in the cave.
84. M. Schmidt 1972. This suggestion is supported by Graf 1987, 93; also M. Halm-Tisserant, "Cephalophorie," *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 64 (1989), 108. Graf interprets the objects held by the man as spears, not as ropes.
85. For example, McNiven 2000, 83-4, who sees Orpheus' gestures of fear and pleading as signs of cowardice and *anandreia* [unmanliness].
86. For example, in Freiart 1991; C. Benson in Reeder 1995, 392-7; B. Cohen 2000b, 114.
87. Although note Graf 1987, 81 and 86, who believes Plato's description of Orpheus as a coward to be an "idiosyncrasy" of that author.
88. Some scholars have emphasized the formal resemblance between the collapsing figure of Orpheus and certain "transgressors" in Greek art, e.g., B. Cohen 2000b for resemblances to scenes of Aktaion and Pentheus, and Garezu 1994 for resemblances to scenes of Aigisthos. However, unlike Pentheus, Orpheus is not completely dismembered in the vases, which affords him more dignity. Second, Orpheus' attackers, the Thracian women, are themselves "Other," especially in comparison with Aktaion's nemesis - the goddess Artemis - or Dionysos, the instigator of Pentheus' death (although the frenzied maenads actually do the job). The vases leave no question that Aktaion, Pentheus, and Aigisthos deserve their fate by giving important iconographic clues. The Orpheus scenes have no such indications. The fact that the falling bodies all resemble each other simply indicates that the vase painters had a certain way of showing a

- falling body, regardless of why it was falling in the first place.
89. B. Cohen 2000b emphasizes the heroism of Orpheus' near-nudity and his "Greekness," e.g. on p. 109.
 90. Trans. Barker 1984, 21.
 91. A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge 1917); Froning 1971; Maas and Snyder 1989, 145 and n. 39. Trendall and Webster 1971, 69–70, and Oakley 1990, 21–2, discuss the possible influence of the play on Thamyris representations.
 92. Fragmentary hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter, Paris, private collection: Marcadé 1982; Nercessian 1994, cat. 1; Arias 1995, 34–5, cat. 1. Hydria by the Phiale Painter, Vatican 16549, *ARV²* 1020, 92, *Add²* 316; Oakley 1990, 22, and cat. 92. Hydria by the Phiale Painter, Naples H 3143 (81531), *ARV²* 1020, 93, *Add²* 316; Oakley 1990, cat. 93. Late Mannerist amphora, Hermitage 711 (St 1685), *ARV²* 1123, 6, *Add²* 332; Nercessian 1994, cat. 4; Mannack 2001, 148, cat. U11.6, and, pl. 62. Hydria attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, Oxford G 291 (V. 530), *ARV²* 1061, 152, *Add²* 323; Matheson 1995, 267, fig. 173, and cat. PGU 178.
 93. Volute krater by Polion: Ferrara 3033 (T 127), *ARV²* 1171, 1, *Add²* 338; Berti and Restani 1988, 60–1, cat. 5; Arias 1995, 40–5, cat. 10. Squat lekythos by the Meidias Painter, Ruvo 1538, *ARV²* 1314, 16, *Add²* 362; Burn 1987, cat. M18; Nercessian 1994, cat. 6. Hydria in the manner of the Meidias Painter, New York 16.52, *ARV²* 1321, 1; Richter and Hall 1936, pl. 160. A lekythos in Basel is identified as belonging to the workshop of the Meidias Painter in Queyrel 1992, cat. 81, and is unattributed in Nercessian 1994, cat. 8; Basel BS 462. Finally, a fragmentary vase: Athens, Nat. Mus. 19636, *Para* 479, 91bis; Burn 1987, cat. MM 133 (identified as a lekanis fragment in the manner of the Meidias Painter). The vase was first fully published in Philippaki 1988, in which she identified it as a pyxis (rather than as a lekanis) and suggested it was the work of an as-yet-unidentified painter.
 94. Paris, private collection.
 95. Compare the similar gestures in Hermitage 711 (St 1685); Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, 116 and fig. 78. Note that here Thamyris is bearded and plays the concert kithara.
 96. Vatican 16549 and Naples H 3143 (81531).
 97. L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragedie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926), 198; Trendall and Webster 1971, 69; Oakley 1990, 22.
 98. Oxford G 291 (V. 530).
 99. Ferrara 3033 (T 127).
 100. Moret 1982, 119.
 101. For example, Froning 1971, 67–86.
 102. Ruvo 1538; Apollo does point to Thamyris in a possible gesture of critique: Burn 1987, 57. Maas and Snyder 1989, 145, speculate that, early in the now-lost Sophoklean play, Thamyris was "the darling of the Muses."
 103. Burn 1987, 56, for possible figure identifications.
 104. Athens, Nat. Mus. 19636; New York 16.52; and Basel BS 462.
 105. Compare discussion in Burn 1987 and Pollitt 1972, especially 123–5.
 106. Panathenaic-shaped amphora, Group of Naples 3235 (name vase), *ARV²* 1316, 1, *Add²* 362; Burn 1987, 58 and cat. N1. The Naples vase does not replicate the *Nekyia*, however, for Olympos appears with a kithara on the vase.
 107. Karlsruhe 208 (B 3), *ARV²* 618, 3, *Add²* 270; Weis 1992, cat. 1.
 108. Louvre G 421, *ARV²* 1037, 1, *Add²* 319; Matheson 1995, cat. HN 2.
 109. Frontisi-Ducroux 1994 for recent discussion of the *Twelfth Pythian Ode* in relation to other versions of the story.
 110. Germany, private collection; Schauenberg 1979, fig. 1; *LIMC* Athena cat. 617.
 111. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 616e–f; trans. Barker 1984, 273.
 112. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 616f–617a; trans. Barker 1984, 273.
 113. Compare Landels 1999, 159, also Martin 2003, 158–63.
 114. For this group: Weis 1979; G. Daltrop, *Il gruppo mironiano di Atena e Marsia nei Musei Vaticani* (Vatican City 1980); Boardman 1985, 80–3, figs. 61–4; Rawson 1987, Chap. 2; Gauer 1995; K. Junker, "Die Athena–Marsyas Gruppe des Myron," *JdI* 117 (2002), 127–84.
 115. Although as Weis 1979, 215, points out, Pliny does not explicitly state that the two figures

- form a group; however, most scholars accept they do. Nor for that matter does he name the satyr as Marsyas!
116. Trans. Wilson 1999, 60.
117. For example, Weis 1979, as well as B. Sauer, "Die Marsyasgruppe des Myron," *JdI* 23 (1908), 125–62.
118. Of the eleven or so replicas of this satyr statue type, none of them was found with a corresponding Athena: Weis 1992, 369. Satyr: Vatican, Mus. Greg. Profano 9974 (Lateran BS225); Boardman 1985, fig. 63. Athena: Frankfurt 147; Boardman 1985, fig. 62b.
119. Berlin 2418; Boardman 1985, fig. 64.
120. Athens, Nat. Mus., Acr. 632, *ARV*² 1024, 3; Oakley 1990, 34 and pl. 133b. The figures are in reverse position from the Berlin oinochoe, but may still be a "pale reflection" of the group.
121. Ruvo 1708; Weis 1992, 370, cat. 16.
122. For example, Boardman 1956, 18–20, also Froning 1971, 29–44. See, however, West 1992, 357–8; West postulates that Melanippides was active ca. 440–415 B.C., which means he may have been too late to have influenced Myron.
123. Boardman 1956, 18–20.
124. Wilson 1999, 61–2.
125. See Chap. 5 for further discussion. Compare also Chap. 2. The Parthenon inventories list a gilded ivory *sybene* from Methymna, brought to Athens in 428/7 B.C. and subsequently stored in the temple: D. Harris 1995, 96, 112–13.
126. For example, Wilson 1999, 59. Also note I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen: Athena als Repräsentantin des demokratischen Staates* (Frankfurt 1990), 184, and discussion in Schauenberg 1958, 56–7. The Theban connection made by modern scholars mostly derives from Plutarch's *Life of Alkibiades* 2.4–6, in which Alkibiades is quoted as saying "let the sons of the Thebans play the aulos" and then refers to Athena's rejection of the aulos; however, as noted in Chap. 2, another source describes Alkibiades as the student of the famous aulete Pronomos of Thebes. As for Aristophanes, one could explain his jibes at Theban auletes in terms of his own predilection for more "traditional" Athenian music and his disdain for professional virtuosi and the "New Music."
127. Weis 1992, 376.
128. Bell krater by the Pothos Painter, London 1920.6–13.2, *ARV*² 1190, 22, *Add*² 342; Queyrel 1984, 125, cat. 2. See Queyrel 1984 and Weis 1992 for additional examples.
129. Kithara, e.g., Ruvo 1093 (see n. 133 of this chapter) and calyx krater by the Kadmos Painter, Syracuse 17427, *ARV*² 1184, 4, *Add*² 341. Chelys lyre, e.g., bell krater by the Pothos Painter, Heidelberg B 195 (K 208), *ARV*² 1189, 19, *Add*² 342; Weis 1992, 373, cat. 44.
130. Boardman 1956, 19.
131. Tripod: bell krater by the Kadmos Painter, Hillsborough, Hearst Collection 20, *ARV*² 1185, 13, *Add*² 341; and Ruvo 1093 (see n. 133).
132. Muses, e.g. Heidelberg B 195 (K 208); see n. 129. Artemis, e.g., calyx krater by the Kadmos Painter, Bologna 301, *ARV*² 1184, 5, *Add*² 341 (also includes Hermes). Athena, e.g., Ruvo 1093 (see n. 133).
133. Ruvo 1093, *ARV*² 1184, 1, *Add*² 340; Sichtermann 1966, 20–1 and pls. 12–17; Weis 1992, cat. 43.
134. Sichtermann 1966, 20.
135. Plato briefly mentions the story in *Republic* 399e in a passage about which instruments to include in the city: "it's nothing new we are doing, in judging Apollo and his instruments to be superior to Marsyas and his"; trans. Barker 1984, 133 (who adds in a footnote that "Plato should not be understood as suggesting that it was normal for Greeks to reject the aulos in favor of the kithara or lyre, or to prefer the 'Apolline' to the 'Dionysiac,' the Greek to the foreign, of anything else of the kind"). However, Plato's attitude should be taken as more complex than just that phrase would suggest; as McKinnon 1984, 212, points out, in Plato's *Symposium* (215b–c) Alkibiades lauds Sokrates for being like Marsyas, in that his words had the same marvelous effects as Marsyas' music.

CHAPTER 5: HARMONIA AND THE LIFE OF THE CITY

1. Fr. 702 in Page 1962; discussion in Comotti 1989, 25–6. Compare Pindar's use of the term in fr. 125; Barker 1984, 60–1.

2. For *mode* and *harmoniai* in the Classical period, see most recently West 1992, 177–84; Landels 1999; Mathiesen 1999.
3. See for example G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1983); Barker 1989, 28–9.
4. See MacLachlan 1991. Primary sources include Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 985b and *De caelo* 290b; note Barker 1989, 32–4.
5. Trans. Barker 1984, 248–9.
6. Shapiro 1986, 21, for discussion and examples.
7. Compare MacLachlan 1991, 14.
8. As MacLachlan 1991, 10, points out, Plato and Aristotle also associate *harmonia* and *symphonia* in their discussion of the *harmonia* of the universe, in Plato, *Republic* 617b and Aristotle, *De caelo* 290b. See also Csapo 2004 for recent discussion of this terminology as used by classical authors in regard to music.
9. Compare discussion of *nomos* in pseudo-Plutarch, *De Musica* 1133b–c.
10. For *symphonia*, MacLachlan 1991, 11.
11. “To betroth”: Herodotos 9.108, Pindar, *Pythian* 9.117; “to marry”: Herodotos 5.32. Discussion in Shapiro 1986, 17.
12. Barker 1989, 39, for translations of these three passages.
13. Vatican 16568, *ARV*² 209, 166, *Add*² 195; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 382. The image of Apollo *Hyperpontios* [over the sea] is rare in vase painting: Compare a black-figure neck amphora by the Ready Painter dating to ca. 550–525 B.C.: Louvre C 10619, *ABV* 130, 8, 685, *Para* 53, *Add*² 35; Shapiro 1989, pl. 29a–b.
14. The dolphins may also recall another part of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in which the god transforms himself into a dolphin: Shapiro 1989, 61.
15. Cf. Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 191–8.
16. Heraclitus fr. 51, discussed in Snyder 1984.
17. Trans. H. N. Fowler in the Loeb edition.
18. Pollitt 1972, 27–36, also N. Tersini, “Unifying Themes in the Sculpture of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,” *CLAnt* 6 (1987), 139–59, and A. Stewart, “Pindaric *Dike* and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,” *CLAnt* 2 (1983), 133–44.
19. For discussion, Simon 1953, 13–38; Prange 1989, 71–3 (on the Niobid Painter’s examples); Shapiro 1996b; Castaldo 2000, 32; Lambrinudakis 1984.
20. New York 24.97.96, *ARV*² 619, 17, *Add*² 270; Richter and Hall 1936, cat. 100. Compare a pelike by the same painter: Basel Lu 49, *ARV*² 622, 48bis, *Para* 399, *Add*² 270.
21. Delphi 8140, unattributed: Metzger 1977; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 455.
22. Altar: e.g., hydria by the Altamura Painter, Cambridge 28.7, *ARV*² 594, 59, *Add*² 265; Prange 1989, cat. A73, pl. 40; pelike by the Niobid Painter, Karlsruhe B2402 (205), *ARV*² 604, 49, *Add*² 267; CVA Karlsruhe I, pl. 16.1–4. Bukranion: e.g., hydria by the Niobid Painter, Hermitage 4521, *ARV*² 606, 72. Column: e.g., amphora by the Niobid Painter, Würzburg 503 (H 4533), *ARV*² 611, 32, *Add*² 268; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 653.
23. Omphalos: e.g., bell krater by the Dinos Painter, London E 502, *ARV*² 1156, 10, *Add*² 337; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 745. This is also one of the few later examples in which Apollo has a concert kithara rather than a chelys lyre.
24. London E 274, *ARV*² 604, 53; Shapiro 1996b, 104.
25. Lambrinudakis 1984 for partial catalogue.
26. Shapiro 1989, 56–8. The Peisistratid “purification” is reported in Herodotos (1.64.2) and Thucydides (3.104.1). The estimated date of ca. 545–540 B.C. is based on analysis of Peisistratos’ career and the archaeological evidence of the Rheneia deposits: Shapiro 1989, 48.
27. Shapiro 1989, 58, further speculates that the popularity of Apollo Kitharoidos in the sixth century may reflect a now-lost Archaic statue in the Athenian temple of Apollo Patroos.
28. Images of Apollo with the lyre rather than kithara are rare but not completely absent from sixth-century vase painting, e.g., amphora by the Antimenes Painter, Villa Giulia 50626 (M 487), *ABV* 270, 63, *Add*² 70; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 749. For the new prominence of the chelys lyre in fifth-century Apolline scenes: Sarti 1992 and Castaldo 2000, 32.
29. Compare the penchant of later authors (e.g., Plato and Aristotle) for using terms such as *sophrosyne* and *nomos* in their discussions of what they perceive as “good” music: Csapo 2004. Given that these are Apolline watchwords, is the lyre-playing, himation-wearing Apollo a literal poster boy of musical *sophrosyne*?

30. Sarti 1992, 99.
31. The connections with Delos and Ionia had been important under the Peisistratids for slightly different reasons: Shapiro 1989, Chap. 3. Shapiro 1996b discusses the relationship between fifth-century Apolline iconography and the Delian League. Cf. pelike by the Oionanthe Painter showing in a libation scene Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Hermes, and a young boy plausibly identified as Ion: Vatican, *ARV*² 580; Shapiro 2003, 87 and figs. 2a–2b. Apollo has a kithara, and a chelys lyre lies on the ground beside a winged Nike under the handle.
32. J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986), 159–62, on the Temple of Apollo Patroos. Shapiro 1989, 51–2, 58, discusses Apollo Patroos in the sixth century. C. Hedrick, Jr., “The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens,” *AJA* 92 (1988), 185–210, argues against a sixth-century temple.
33. Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 55, discussed in Simon 1983, 74.
34. Simon 1983, 74, also J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971), 91–5. The area is referred to in Euripides’ *Ion* (492–505), although as Camp 2001, 120, cautions, the earliest sound physical evidence for cult activity in the cave dates from the Roman period.
35. Simon 1983, 73–4, also Travlos (as in n. 34), 83–90, 100–3, on Ilissos sanctuaries.
36. Although the date of the Athenian Treasury has been much disputed in the past, recent evidence suggests it to be post-Marathonian (490 B.C.) in date as Pausanias asserts: P. Amandry, “Le ‘socle marathônien’ et le trésor des Athéniens,” *BCH* 122 (1998), 75–90. The date of the Athenian Stoa has similarly been much debated: J. Walsh, “The Date of the Athenian Stoa at Delphi,” *AJA* 90 (1986), 319–36, places the Stoa after the First Peloponnesian War, although others have dated the Stoa to the 470s. For the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, probably built ca. 425–417 following a second “purification” of the island in 426: P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Athens 1983), 129–30, also F. Courby, *Les temples d’Apollon* (Athens 1931), *EAD* vol. 12, 107–205.
37. Shapiro 1996b.
38. Simon 1953; also Arafat 1990, 89–103, for libation scenes featuring Zeus and Hera. For Triptolemos, see Matheson 1995, 192–4, with other references.
39. Scenes of departure of a warrior: e.g., F. Lissarrague, “The World of the Warrior,” in Bérard et al. 1989, 39–51.
40. Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 39–41.
41. Simon 1953 relates the libation pair of Zeus and Hera to the *hieros gamos*, or sacred marriage, of the divine couple, as well as the Athenian festival of the Theogamia. As Arafat 1990, 90, points out, however, “It may be that nothing is going on beyond the libation we see. There need be no reference to the *hieros gamos* or Theogamia or other rite, cult, or festival.” I would agree that it is the *act* of libation that is central, rather than any specific *occasion*. Similarly, Himmelmann 1998, 120–9, stresses the timelessness of libations performed by any of the gods on vases of this period, unlinked to a specific narrative or mythic episode. I thank J. Oakley for this reference.
42. London 1971.II–I.I, *ABV* 40, 16bis, *Para* 19, *Add*² 10; D. Williams, “Sophilos in the British Museum,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983), 9–34.
43. Shapiro 1989, 54–6, on Apollo in black-figure procession scenes. For black-figure wedding processions generally, Oakley and Sinos 1993, 28–30, 44.
44. Inscriptions name Peleus, Thetis, and other characters on a hydria in the manner of the Lysippides Painter: Florence 3790; *ABV* 260, 30, *Add*² 68; Shapiro 1989, pl. 24a–b; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 28 and figs. 62 and 63. In most cases, however, there are no inscriptions.
45. Hague 1983, 133–4.
46. Ferrara 2893 (T 617), *ARV*² 1038, 1, *Add*² 319; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 31 and fig. 74; Reeder 1995, 349–51. Also note the inclusion of Apollo Kitharoidos in the wedding procession of Herakles and Hebe (identified by inscription) on a red-figure loutrophoros by the Persephone Painter, Athens, Acropolis Na57 Aa1154, *ARV*² 1013, 12; Oakley 2003. Apollo plays a lyre rather than a kithara on an Early Classical column krater by the Cleveland Painter, where he accompanies the chariot departure of a young goddess who may be Hebe en route to meeting her groom:

- Cleveland 1930.104, *ARV*² 516, 1, *Add*² 253; J. Neils, "The Cleveland Painter," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 1 (1996), 12–29. Neils points out that the sedate procession with draped divinities contrasts strongly with the raucous komos on the reverse; the painter seems to be contrasting Apollo's chelys lyre with the barbitos on the other side. I thank J. Neils for this reference.
47. Pemberton 1977, 68–72, argues for a direct gaze between Thetis and Apollo, and for Thetis' unhappy reaction to Apollo's libation song. However, Thetis looks not to Apollo but beyond him. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 31, suggests that it is this distant gaze of Thetis that adds to any sense of apprehension.
 48. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 31; Reeder 1995, 350–1.
 49. An element of irony may likewise be present on a pointed amphora by the Copenhagen Painter that also shows the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, this time on foot: collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy: Oakley and Sinos 1993, 36–7 and figs. 108–11; Reeder 1995, 347–9. Again Apollo plays the kithara, and here the procession includes his mother Leto as well as his sister Artemis.
 50. Cup by the Kalliope Painter, London, Victoria and Albert Mus. 666.1864, *ARV*² 1259, 4, *Add*² 355; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 689b. Compare the tondo of a cup by the Eretria Painter, Ferrara T 128, *ARV*² 1252, 52, *Add*² 354; Lambrinudakis 1984, cat. 692a.
 51. Trans. F. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore 1980), 192.
 52. Shapiro 1989, 52–4.
 53. Shapiro 1989, Chap. 3.
 54. Moret 1982 discusses the appearance of Apollo in fifth-century scenes where he would not be expected, and links this to the *sophron* character of Apollo and his association with prophecy, morality, and justice.
 55. See most recently Neils 2001, 142–6, with further references. The Parthenon inventories of 434/3 B.C. list a gilt lyre, three ivory lyres, and four wooden lyres. Another four ivory lyres are added in the 431/0 inventories. These are called lyres, not kitharas, in the lists, but nonetheless they may have been used in worship, cf. the frieze. D. Harris 1995, 27, 96–8, 112–13.
 56. Carrey's drawings of the north frieze, slabs VII and VIII; Neils 2001, 145, fig. 107.
 57. Whether kithara and aulos were played simultaneously as common practice is subject to debate, even though some vases show it (e.g., the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686; see subsequent discussion).
 58. Neils 2001, 61, fig. 47 for Carrey's drawing.
 59. Plektron identification: Jenkins 1994, 69 and Neils 2001, 143. Not everyone agrees they are musicians: F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries: Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz 1977), 220, identifies them instead as pinax carriers. Simon 1983, 62–3, identifies them as secretaries with tablets [*grammateis*] to keep accounts of sacrificial meat.
 60. A connection with the Panathenaic festival – in some form or another – is accepted by the majority of scholars, and the references are too numerous to include here. It is true that some elements of the frieze are not consistent with later, literary accounts of the Panathenaic procession, but, as with vase painting, it is important to keep in mind that the frieze's designers were not trying to represent a photographic version of events. For that matter, because the literary sources are later in date, perhaps they do not accurately reflect fifth-century practice.
 61. For a recent overview: Neils 2001, especially Chap. 6. The most controversial article to come out on this issue is J. Connelly, "Parthenon and *Parthenoi*: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Frieze," *AJA* 100 (1996), 58–80; Neils, 2001, 178–80, presents the problems inherent in Connelly's argument.
 62. Contemporary Athenians (without being specific portraits), e.g., Pollitt 1997, Hurwit 1999, and Neils 2001, among others.
 63. Nordquist 1994, 83–5.
 64. Compare Kavoulaki 1999, 298–306.
 65. R. Osborne, "The Viewing and Obscuring of the Parthenon Frieze," *JHS* 107 (1987), 98–105, on the movement of the viewer.
 66. Kavoulaki 1999.
 67. Berlin F 1686, *ABV* 296, 4, *Add*² 77; Shapiro 1992a, 55, fig. 34a–b. Compare an unattributed band cup: London, private collection; Shapiro 1992a, 54, fig. 33; Neils 2001, 124, fig. 88.
 68. Related to Phintias, Athens, Nat. Mus., Acr. 636; *ARV*² 25, 1; Neils 2001, 197 and fig. 137.

69. Sacrifice, e.g., M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, eds., *The Cuisine of Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1989); Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 28–39; A. M. Bowie, "Greek Sacrifice: Forms and Functions," in A. Powell, ed., *The Greek World* (London and New York 1995), 463–82; van Straten 1995; Jameson 1999.
70. The shift in iconographic interest between procession and rituals at the altar is noted in Nordquist 1992, 165–6, citing also K. Lehnstaedt, "Prozessiondarstellungen auf attischen Vasen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Munich 1970).
71. van Straten 1995.
72. Pseudo-Xenophon 2.9. See Jameson 1997 and Jameson 1999.
73. *IG* II² 334, 25–7; Jameson 1997, 178. Also Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 36, on the *isonomia* of sacrificial procedure.
74. Boston 95.25, *ARV*² 1149, 9, *Add*² 335; Matheson 1995, cat. KL 30. Beazley had placed this vase in the manner of the Kleophon Painter, but De Miro reattributed it as a late work of the Kleophon Painter: E. De Miro, "Nuovi contributi sul Pittore di Kleophon," *Archeologia classica* 20 (1968), 238–48. Compare similar krater discovered at Agrigento (inspiring De Miro's reattribution): Agrigento AG 4688; Matheson 1995, cat. KL 29.
75. It is impossible to distinguish whether the himation-clad auletes in some of the sacrifice scenes are professionals or citizen youths trained in aulos-playing, although it is tempting to identify them as the latter based on their dress. Compare Nordquist 1992, 163.
76. Inscriptions name four of the figures – Areasias, Kallias, Hippokles, and Mantitheos – whom Beazley connected with known historical figures of the Peloponnesian War period. He suggested that the vase commemorates a specific sacrifice early in the war and described the scene as an "oligarchs' sacrifice."
77. Louvre C 10754, *ARV*² 228, 32, *Add*² 199; Nordquist 1992, fig. 9a–b.
78. Compare Nordquist 1992, 157, re: the synoptic narrative; also van Straten 1995.
79. London E 455, *ARV*² 1028, 9, *Add*² 317; Matheson 1995, 276, and cat. P8. Compare another stamnos, recently reattributed to Polygnotos: London E 456, *ARV*² 1051, 17, *Add*² 321; Matheson 1995, cat. P9, pl. 36a–b.
80. Shapiro 1996b, with list and earlier references. Also note Lambrinoudakis 1984 and discussion of music and the cult of Apollo in Zschätzsch 2002, 46–62.
81. Compare Moret 1982 on the presence of Apollo in other contemporary scenes.
82. San Antonio 85.120.2; Shapiro et al. 1995, 188–90, cat. 95. Perhaps it is significant that this vase with its homage to Apollo postdates the Athenian plague.
83. Gotha 51, *ARV*² 1028, 10, *Add*² 317; van Straten 1995, fig. 132.
84. For these scenes: Frickenhaus 1912; Durand and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982; Simon 1983, 100–1; Carpenter 1997, 79–82; Peirce 1998; Dillon 2002, 149–52.
85. I follow Peirce 1998 in her categorization of the Lenaia vases; other scholars include additional scenes, resulting in a much larger corpus. I, for example, omit from this group the well-known cup by Makron: Berlin 2290, *ARV*² 462, 48, *Add*² 244; Reeder 1995, 383–5, cat. 12.
86. Oxford G. 289 (V. 523), *ARV*² 621, 41, *Add*² 270; Durand and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982, 98, fig. 10.
87. San Antonio 86.134.64, *ARV*² 628, 6 (once market); Shapiro et al. 1995, 162–4, cat. 81 (entry by E. Simon, advocating Lenaia identification). Cf. another stamnos by the same painter: Würzburg 520, *ARV*² 621, 36, *Add*² 270; Durand and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982, 92, fig. 7.
88. Naples 2419, *ARV*² 1151, 2, *Add*² 336; Reeder 1995, 385–7, cat. 124.
89. The Lenaia identification was first made in Frickenhaus 1912 and subsequently in L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932); more recently Simon 1983, 100–1; C. Benson in Reeder 1995, 381–2, with further bibliography; and Lewis 2002, 52. Dillon 2002, 152, comes down on the side of the Anthesteria. Peirce 1998 accepts that the stamnoi show mortal women, but posits more general identifications of Dionysian cult activities rather than a specific festival. J. de la Genière, "Vases des Lénéennes?" *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 43–61, presents the hypothesis that these scenes were created specifically for the Etruscan market.
90. Carpenter 1997, 79–82.

91. Warsaw 142465, *ARV*² 1019, 82, *Add*² 315; Oakley 1990, cat. 82; Reeder 1995, 387–8, cat. 125. An unattributed stamnos (ca. 440 B.C.) shows a woman playing an aulos and a grownup satyr with a kantharos before a mask-idol: Louvre G 532, Bérard et al. 1989, 142, fig. 194.
92. Compare Peirce 1998, 85.
93. Ferrara 2897 (T. 128), *ARV*² 1052, 25, *Add*² 322; Matheson 1995, cat. CUR 7. Beazley attributed the krater to the Group of Polygnotos (which Carpenter upholds); a reattribution to the Curti Painter was proposed in M. Halm-Tisserant, “Le peintre de Curti,” *REA* 86 (1984), 135–70.
94. S. Patitucci, “Osservazioni sul cratere polignoteo della tomba 128 di valle Trebba,” *Arte antica e moderna* 5 (1962), 146–64, accepted in Matheson 1995, 278–9 (with other references). Dillon 2002, 160–1, identifies the goddess as Kybele and suggests that Kybele’s consort Attis is “the best candidate” for the other figure. Carpenter 1997, 69–79, carefully reviews the evidence but comes to the conclusion that there are “insufficient data” to identify the figures.
95. According to the inscription, the kitharodic contest had five prizes: first prize, gold crown worth 1,000 drachmas plus 500 silver drachmas cash; second prize, 1,200 drachmas; third prize, 600 drachmas; fourth prize, 400 drachmas; fifth prize, 300 drachmas. The aulodic contest lists only two prizes: first prize, a crown worth 300 drachmas and second prize, 100 drachmas cash. The contest for kitharists: first prize, crown worth 500 drachmas and 300 drachmas cash; second prize, 200 drachmas; third prize, 100 drachmas. The inscription is broken at the area describing the prizes for the auletic contest. Although the surviving inscription does not list any contests for boys, it is generally assumed that contests for boy aulodes and kitharists were included.
96. Musical contest scenes: Vos 1986; Kotsidu 1991; Shapiro 1992a; Shear 2001; S. Schmidt 2001. Shapiro 1992a argues for the existence of *mousikoi agones* from 566 B.C. onward. Shear 2001, 350–76, in her discussion of musical contests, advocates caution in using musical contest scenes as evidence for the Panathenaic festival program.
97. Worcester 1966.63; Boardman 1988, cat. 1444; Shapiro 1992a, fig. 48. For these scenes: J. Boardman, “Herakles, Peisistratos, and Eleusis,” *JHS* 95 (1975), 10–11; Schauenberg 1979; J. Boardman, “Image and Politics in Sixth-Century Athens,” in H. A. G. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12–15 April 1984* (Amsterdam 1984), 245–6; Boardman 1988, 810–17; Shapiro 1989, 159–60; Goulaki-Voutira 1992.
98. Shapiro 1989, 127 for Hermes Agoraios.
99. Boardman 1975 (see n. 97), a belief shared by Schauenberg 1979.
100. See Boardman’s numerous articles on the subject, including his “Herakles, Peisistratos, and Sons,” *RA* (1972), 57–72, in addition to those previously cited.
101. Germany, private collection; Schauenberg 1979, fig. 1.
102. Louvre G 1, *ARV*² 3, 2, *Add*² 149; Shapiro 1992a, 66–7, fig. 44. Because the kithara player is not singing, it is not clear whether he is a kitharode or kitharist.
103. Baltimore 48.2107; Shapiro 1992a, 67, fig. 46.
104. Compare a slightly later black-figure pelike attributed to the Leagros Group, where the instrument of the boldly striding and energetically singing kitharode also overlaps the upper border: Kassel T 675, *ABV* 376, 223bis, *Para* 167, *Add*² 100; Shapiro 1992a, fig. 47.
105. Compare Shapiro 1992a, 65–6.
106. London B 260; Shapiro 1992a, fig. 42. The figure on the reverse can be compared with a Panathenaic-shaped amphora with kitharist on one side and Athena Promachos on the other: London 1849.11–22.2 (B 139), *ABV* 139, 12, *Add*² 37; Shapiro 1992a, fig. 43. Here the figure’s mortal identity seems ensured.
107. Basel BS 491 (once private collection), *ARV*² 3, 4, *Para* 320, *Add*² 149; Shapiro 1992a, 67, fig. 45. Also K. Schauenberg, “Eine neue Amphora des Andokidesmalers,” *JdI* 76 (1961), 48–71. Whereas the Louvre amphora seems to be one of the earliest representations of a kithara player with a mortal audience, aulos contests like this are not new; compare a black-figure, Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Princeton Painter: New York 1989.281.89; Shapiro 1992a, 62–3.

108. Shapiro 1989, 43, speculates whether the seated figure on the Basel amphora is meant to be a judge. M. Stansbury-O'Donnell is currently preparing a study on images of spectators.
109. Louvre G 103, *ARV*² 14, 2, *Add*² 152; Shapiro 1989, 42–3, and pl. 20d.
110. Villa Giulia 20839–40, *ABV* 673; cited in Shapiro 1989, 43, n. 210.
111. Geddes 1987; B. Cohen 2001, 242.
112. [Me]las was originally identified as the aulete by Beazley in *ARV*²; compare Immerwahr 1990, 63, cat. 357. These two sources also report only three other names: Leagros, Polykles, and Kephisodoros. However, in Giroux 1980, 94, Hubert Giroux revealed the discovery of a fifth name during restoration of the vase: Hy[l]as, placed nearest the first seated figure to the right of the aulete. Polykles, he reasoned, must therefore be the aulete, and [Me]las must refer to someone not present (although he speculated whether [Me]las was actually [Hy]las repeated). These identifications are in turn accepted in Shapiro 1989, 43.
113. As for example on Euphronios' krater Munich 8935, where he appears as a symposiast.
114. Shapiro 1989, 43.
115. Berlin 2161, *ARV*² 221, 7, *Add*² 198; Schauenberg 1979, 72, figs. 21 and 22. Snyder 1998, 170, mistakenly identifies this vase as one of the prize vases.
116. New York 56.171.38, *ARV*² 197, 3, *Add*² 190; Boardman 1975, fig. 152.1–2.
117. Compare the lifted heads of the kitharodes on the following: Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Berlin Painter, formerly Hunt Collection, now Louvre MNE 1005, Shapiro 1992a, 58, fig. 37; Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Berlin Painter, Montpellier, Musée Fabre 139 (SA 130), *ARV*² 197, 10, *Add*² 190; *BCH* 119 (1995), 372, fig. 4.
118. Boston 26.61, *ARV*² 383, 199, *Add*² 228; Maas and Snyder 1989, 74, fig. 8 (showing obverse and reverse).
119. Amphorae by the Berlin Painter in addition to those cited in the preceding notes: Munich 2319, *ARV*² 198, 22, *Add*² 191; Hermitage 612, *ARV*² 198, 23, *Add*² 191; Naples H 3087 (81490), *ARV*² 201, 68; Naples H 3214 (81518), *ARV*² 203, 93.
120. Solow Art and Architecture Foundation, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L1999.31); Christie's London, 28 April 1993, cat. 17; R.-M. Becker, *Formen attischer Peliken* (Böblingen 1979), 49, cat. 139a. Cf. amphora by the Pan Painter, New York 20.245, *ARV*² 552, 30, *Add*² 257; Richter and Hall 1936, cat. 66, pl. 72.
121. Compare the kitharode on the obverse of an amphora by the Berlin Painter, New York 1985.11.5; Sotheby's London 13–14 December 1982, cat. 220. For the *kalos* inscription on the *bema* of the Pan Painter's pelike, compare Lissarrague 1999, 367–8.
122. London E 270, *ARV*² 183, 15, *Add*² 187; Shapiro 1993b, figs. 21 and 22. Note also column krater by the Berlin Painter with aulete: Basel Kä 422, *ARV*² 207, 136, *Add*² 194.
123. Rhapsode identification, e.g., Vos 1986, 122. Inscription: Shapiro 1993b, 95.
124. Shapiro 1993b, 95–7.
125. Similar garments with a striped edge appear on the Berlin Painter's amphora, Hermitage 612; column krater by the Berlin Painter, Basel Kä 422; Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Pan Painter, New York 20.245; the Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Berlin Painter, Louvre MNE 1005. See the preceding notes for references.
126. M. Miller 1997, 161–3, for the *chiton cheiridotos* as worn by musicians.
127. M. Miller 1997, 174–5, for the *ependytes*; also M. Miller, "The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens," *Hesperia* 58 (1989), 313–29.
128. The shift is noted, but not explained, in Kotsidu 1991, 126.
129. Compare B. Cohen 2001.
130. Scenes of Nike in a musical context: Goulaki-Voutira 1994; Thöne 1999, 89–94, and catalogue, 144–6. I thank H. A. Shapiro for the Thöne reference. As Shapiro himself points out (1996a, 218), these musical contest scenes "not only reflect the allegorizing tendency of High Classical art, but also seem for the first time to elevate the victorious musician to a heroic stature equal to that of athletic victors."
131. Oxford 1890.30 (V. 274), *ARV*² 203, 100, *Add*² 193. For the idea that the Berlin Painter invented these scenes: Schafter 1991, also Shapiro 1992a, 69. Examples by the Berlin Painter: Nolan amphora, Rome, Museo

- Barracco 231, *ARV*² 202, 74; Nolan amphora, Los Angeles A 5933.50.33, *ARV*² 202, 75, *Add*² 192; Beck 1975, pl. 46; Nolan amphora, St. Louis 57.55, *ARV*² 203, 104, *Add*² 193; Neils 1992a, 157, cat. 21.
132. Amphora by the Berlin Painter, present location unknown, once Christie's London, 28 April 1993, cat. 11.
133. For example, amphora by the Providence Painter, Vienna 698, *ARV*² 637, 29; *CVA* Vienna 2, pls. 58-9; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 6. Lekythos by the Oionokles Painter, Jack S. Blanton Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin 1980.63; Neils 1992a, 158, cat. 22, with fig. on p. 59; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 14.
134. Thöne 1999.
135. Schafter 1991, contra Davison 1958.
136. For example, lekythos by the Pan Painter, Oxford 1888.1401 (312), *ARV*² 556, 102, *Add*² 259; Beck 1975, pl. 46, no. 247.
137. Altamura Painter, e.g., volute krater, Ferrara 2737 (T 381), *ARV*² 589, 3, *Add*² 264, Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 36; volute krater, Ferrara 3169 (T 124), *ARV*² 590, 9, Prange 1989, cat. A16, pl. 48, among others. The advent of these scenes in the Niobid Painter's workshop is noted in Matheson 1995, 281. Also note discussion of the Altamura Painter's scenes in Prange 1989.
138. London E 469, *ARV*² 589, 1, *Add*² 264; Prange 1989, pl. 52.
139. Compare Webster 1972, 161-2.
140. Matheson 1995, 279-81, for Polygnotan contest scenes.
141. Athens, Agora P 27349: Holloway 1966; Shapiro 1992a, 60-1, fig. 38; Moore 1997, 135, cat. 8. Holloway attributed the vase to the Peleus Painter, but Matheson and Moore both believe it to be instead in his manner. Compare calyx krater by the Painter of Munich 2335, which shows not only an aulodic and an auletic contest, but also two athletic contests: Larisa, Mus. 86/101; Shapiro 1992a, 61 and fig. 39; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 34. Shear 2001, 361, preferring to work virtually solely with Panathenaic-shaped and neck amphorae in her discussion of the *mousikoi agones*, does not believe the Larisa vase should be used as evidence because of the portrayal of a hydria as a prize.
142. Close examination of the vase reveals that the judge on this side was originally intended by the artist to be a seated lyre player: Holloway 1966, 115 and fig. 6.
143. Another is a pelike by the Duomo Painter in Odessa: *ARV*² 1119, noted in Vos 1986, 129.
144. See A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1968), 95-8, for the process as related to the City Dionysia. The process for the Panathenaia is less well attested, but is generally assumed to be similar in nature.
145. Shapiro 1992a, 60.
146. London E 460, *ARV*² 1041, 2, *Add*² 319; Beck 1975, cat. 240; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 48. Compare stamnos by the Peleus Painter: Vatican 16556, *ARV*² 1039, 7, *Add*² 319; Matheson 1995, pl. 158 and cat. PE 10.
147. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1183, *ARV*² 1123, 1; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 50. Compare pelike by the Kassel Painter, Athens, Nat. Mus. 1469, *ARV*² 1084, 17. See also Chap. 2.
148. Since vases were not among Panathenaic musical contest prizes (as far as we know), it is not clear what relationship this and similar scenes have to the Panathenaic *mousikoi agones*.
149. Cf. Plutarch, *Perikles* 9.2-3.
150. My discussion here is influenced by Cartledge 1997 and Goldhill 1997, who discuss the audience of tragedy.
151. Goldhill 1997, 54.
152. Oxford 1960.1220, *ARV*² 1186, 24bis, *Add*² 341; Vos 1986, fig. 2; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 29.
153. Vos 1986.
154. For example, column krater by the Orestes Painter: Baranello 86; Thöne 1999, cat. Cc 30; pelike by the Kassel Painter, Leiden Ro II 60, *ARV*² 1084, 16, *Add*² 327, Vos 1986, 123, fig. 1; fragmentary amphora in the manner of the Kleophon Painter, Athens, Agora P 7912, *ARV*² 1150, 30; Moore 1997, 136, cat. 15; and column krater by the Orpheus Painter, Ferrara 2813 (T. 392), *ARV*² 1104, 8, *CVA* Ferrara I, pl. 38.3.
155. Vos 1986, 129, proposes that Perikles opened the aulodic contests only to small boys on the basis of the surviving vases, but the Kadmos Painter's vase shows that such an assertion is tricky at best.
156. Plutarch, *Perikles* 13.11; trans. M. Miller 1997, 222.
157. Davison 1958, 36-41. Shear 2001, 374, likewise believes that these events were

- removed after 480 and then reintroduced by Perikles for the Greater Panathenaia of 446/5 B.C.
158. Shapiro 1992a, 57-8.
 159. Vos 1986, 128.
 160. Odeion of Perikles, e.g., Hurwit 1999, 216-17, with figures, also 317, Appendix C, no. 19, with references; M. Miller 1997, Chap. 9, with extensive references; Mosconi 2000; Camp 2001, 100-1, 256. Some scholars place it nearer to mid-century, such as Camp 2001, 101, who suggests the mid-440s. Hurwit 1999, 317, favors the 430s. M. Miller 1997, 221-3, suggests that the late 430s is most likely.
 161. Vitruvius 5.9.1 for Themistokles. Davison 1958 accepts the Themistoklean date and attribution.
 162. Trans. Camp 2001, 101.
 163. See especially M. Miller 1997.
 164. Camp 2001, 101. Hurwit 1999, 216, accepts that the Odeion was built specifically for the *mousikoi agones*; Kotsidu 1991, 141-9, presents the contrary opinion. M. Miller 1997 suggests it was not built for any specific function but was a semiotic structure making a statement about the defeat of the Persians.
 165. We may speculate whether the column on the Kadmos Painter's bell krater, previously discussed, was meant to be a column of the Odeion itself.
 166. Mosconi 2000, especially 280-91 on the Odeion and the decline of the aristocratic symposion and 292-305 on the relationship of the Odeion to the "New Music."
 167. Boston 96.719 (currently on loan to the Tampa Museum of Art), *ARV*² 1107, 6, *Add*² 330.
 168. Shapiro 2001.
 169. Importance of cult of Poseidon in Athens after the Persian Wars, e.g., L. H. Jeffery, "Poseidon on the Acropolis," in *Praktika tou XII Diethnous Synedriou Klasikes Archaeologias, Athenas 4-10 Septembriou 1983* (Athens 1988); J. Binder, "The West Pediment of the Parthenon: Poseidon," in A. L. Boegehold, ed., *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his Eightieth Birthday* (Durham, NC, 1984), 15-22; and Neils 2001, 189-91. J. Neils has noted that the distribution of gods (including Poseidon and Hermes) on the Parthenon frieze suggests a land-and-sea duality: Neils 2001, 186-9.
 170. Anderson 1994, 127-34 and B. Zimmermann 1993.
 171. He may have been victorious in 446/5 (archonship of Kallimachos) or 406/5 (archonship of Kallias), depending on how one interprets the passage in question, by a scholion to *Clouds*. See M. Miller 1997, 222, for discussion of the controversy vis-à-vis the dating of the Odeion.
 172. West 1992, 361.
 173. West 1992, 366-8, on the "star performers."
 174. Discovered in Brezovo, now in the museum at Plovdiv, *ARV*² 1044, 9, *Add*² 320; Boardman 1989, fig. 149.
 175. The games at Marathon were a local Attic festival; Shapiro 1992a, 57 and n. 32.
 176. As Matheson 1995, 341, n. 55, points out, the name Alkimachos appears on four other vases from the Polygnotan Group, but none of these refers to victory in a contest.
 177. Webster 1972, 49-50, 163.
 178. Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1176, fr. 39, col. 22, written in the late third to early second century B.C.; trans. Csapo and Slater 1995, 339.
 179. Ferrara 4110, *CVA Ferrara I*, pl. 36.4-5.
 180. New York 25.78.66, *ARV*² 1172, 8, *Add*² 339.
 181. Richter and Hall 1936, 196; Trendall and Webster 1971, cat. I.16. Neils 2001, 209-10, suggests that the vase spoofs the Parthenon frieze.
 182. Trans. Barker 1984, 179.
 183. West 1992, 351.
 184. For the fragments: Mathiesen 1999, 110, and Pöhlmann and West 2001. Both manuscripts, however, date from the third century B.C.
 185. Music and theater: Snyder 1979; West 1992, 350-5; Anderson 1994, 113-25; Csapo and Slater 1995; Landels 1999, 13-23; Mathiesen 1999, 94-125; Wilson 2002; Csapo 2004. It is debated whether any stringed instruments, such as the kithara or lyre, played a role in theatrical productions.
 186. Green 1991.
 187. Green 1985 for catalogue.
 188. Berlin F 1697, *ABV* 297, 17, *Add*² 78; Green 1985, 101, cat. 3.
 189. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83; Green 1985. The connection with the *Birds* is not universally accepted: O. Taplin at

- first suggested that the scene is from the *Clouds* and represents the Just and Unjust Arguments as fighting cocks: "Phallogogy, Phlyakes, Iconography, and Aristophanes," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 213 (1987), 92–104. Taplin later modified his view to agree with Green that the Getty krater probably shows a comic chorus, but not the one in *Birds*, one otherwise unknown: Taplin 1991, 36. We need not, however, associate the scene with Aristophanes at all, for comic bird choruses are shown earlier in Athenian iconography; compare for example a black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Gela Painter from early in the fifth century: London 1842.7–28.787 (B 509), *ABV* 473, *Add*² 119; Green 1985, 101, no. 8. See also Csapo and Slater 1995, 65–6.
190. Berlin 3223, *ARV*² 586, 47, *Add*² 263; Simon 1982, 9–10, and Green 1991, 33–4. A scene from tragedy is likely depicted on a group of hydria fragments from Corinth, which include an aulos player and possibly an Eastern king on his funeral pyre: Beazley 1955; Taplin 1997, 70–1 and fig. 5.
 191. Naples 81673 (H3240), *ARV*² 1336, 1, *Add*² 365; Trendall and Webster 1971, 29; Csapo and Slater 1995, 69–70; Taplin 1997, 73–4.
 192. One of the members of the satyr chorus, in the bottom register, has his mask on and is performing the *sikinnis*, the traditional dance of the satyr play. Note an Early Classical hydria by the Leningrad Painter that apparently shows a satyr play in performance, including five recognizably costumed satyrs and a piping aulete at right: Boston 03.788, *ARV*² 571, 75, *Add*² 261.
 193. It has been proposed that the composition on the vase replicates a votive plaque or panel painting that would have been dedicated in the Sanctuary of Dionysos (perhaps by Pronomos) in thanksgiving for the victory: e.g., Simon 1982, 17.
 194. For the Omphale hypothesis, see E. Simon, "Die Omphale von Demetrios. Zur Satyrspielvase in Neapel," *AA* (1971), 199–206.
 195. Wilson 2000 for the Athenian dithyrambic choruses and their sponsorship.
 196. Cup by the Briseis Painter, New York 27.74, *ARV*² 407, 18, *Add*² 232; Trendall and Webster 1971, 26–7, no. I.19; Wilson 2000, 73–4; cup by the Painter of Louvre G 265, Oxford G 236 (V 305), *ARV*² 416, 3, *Add*² 234; Trendall and Webster 1971, 27, no. I.20.
 197. Louvre G 138; *ARV*² 365, 61, *Add*² 223; Bélis 1999, pl. 1.
 198. Copenhagen 13817, *ARV*² 1145, 35, *Add*² 335; Trendall and Webster 1971, 25, no. I.17.
 199. Identification of Phyrnichos as the comic poet, e.g., Trendall and Webster 1971, 25. Csapo and Slater 1995, 57–8 point out, however, that the name Phyrnichos was "fairly common"; they concede that because of his visual prominence he may be the *choregos* or poet.
 200. For the wedding and related iconography: Sutton 1981, 145–275; Oakley and Sinos 1993; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998. I thank J. Oakley for the latter reference. For wedding music, note Hague 1983; Kaufmann-Samaras 1996; Mathiesen 1999, 126–31.
 201. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 10.
 202. Mykonos 970, *ARV*² 261, 19; *Add*² 204; C. Dugas in *EAD* vol. 21 (1952), pls. 5–7; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 24–5 and figs. 54–8; Sgorou 1994, 264, cat. R1; Oakley (forthcoming) no. 112. For wedding dances, see also Lonsdale 1993, 206–18; Delavaud-Roux 1994, 91–111; Oakley (forthcoming).
 203. Sgorou 1994 for a comprehensive study.
 204. Trans. Barker 1984, 79.
 205. Apollo: Beazley in *ARV*²; Lonsdale 1993, 63; Sgorou 1994, 86. Woman musician: Dugas in *EAD* (see n. 202, this chapter) Oakley and Sinos 1993, 24–5; Delavaud-Roux 1994, 98. The Apollo hypothesis also derives in part from comparison to *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* 182–206.
 206. Villa Giulia 909, *ARV*² 618, 1, *Add*² 270; Boardman 1989, fig. 21; CVA Villa Giulia 2, pl. 21.
 207. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 25.
 208. New York 56.11.1, *ABV* 155, Para 66, *Add*² 45; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase Painting in Sixth-Century B. C. Athens* (New York 1985), 182–4, cat. 47; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 25 and fig. 59, specifically for the dance scene, also Lonsdale 1993, 214–18; Oakley (forthcoming) no. 111. The companion lekythos (New York 31.11.10) features on its body a scene of textile production, and on its shoulder girls dancing and a seated female figure with garland. Note that some

- identify the textile production scene with the weaving of the Panathenaic peplos, e.g., Neils 1992b, 17.
209. Trans. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 4. Compare also the possibly Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* 270–85, trans. Barker 1984, 36–7.
210. For the girl choruses: Calame 1999 and brief discussion in Griffith 2001.
211. For the Alkman *partheneion*: Mathiesen 1999, 86–7 and Lonsdale 1993, 193–203.
212. Pindar, *Parthenia* fr. 104d.26–36; Mathiesen 1999, 86, for translation and discussion.
213. See especially Lonsdale 1993, Chap. 6.
214. Lonsdale 1993, 62–5, for the Delia, although he states that Thucydides' passage (3.104) refers to "the purification of Delos in 417 and the revival in 426/5 of the ancient Ionian festival known as the Delia" (p. 64). Shapiro 1989, 48, points out that Thucydides is referring instead to the first Athenian "purification" of Delos under Peisistratos in the sixth century and thus to the Peisistratid revival of the Delia. One can then presume that the Delia continued to be celebrated during the fifth century and that the Athenians – particularly as instigators of the Delian League – would have participated. Calame 1999, 104–10, for further discussion of the Delia.
215. Plato later championed the idea of the two sexes dancing together in his *Laws* (771e–772a): "Boys and girls must be made to dance together at an age when suitable pretexts can be found for their doing so, and they should be made to view one another and be viewed." Trans. Lonsdale 1993, 206.
216. Sgorou 1994, 89, suggests that the vase was made for an Athenian wedding celebrated on Delos, but a connection with the Delia would be more feasible.
217. Boston 65.908; Lewis 2002, fig. 1.31.
218. Compare Lonsdale 1993, 52–62.
219. Bridal bath, e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, 15–16, and Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, 293–5, both with additional references.
220. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1453, *ARV*² 1127, 18, *Add*² 332; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 15–16 and figs. 14 and 15. Compare Aischylos, *Prometheus Chained* 556–8, which mentions wedding songs near the bath; Kaufmann-Samaras 1996, 440.
221. Compare discussion in E. Parisinou, *The Light of the Gods: The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Cult* (London 2000).
222. Karlsruhe 69/78 (once market), *ARV*² 1102, 2, *Add*² 329; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 16 and figs. 16–19. See also C. Weiss, "Ein bislang unbekanntes Detail auf dem Hochzeitsbild der Karlsruher Lutrophoros 69/78," in Christiansen and Melander 1988, 652–64. A young male aulete appears beneath one of the handles of a loutrophoros by the Pan Painter showing the *loutrophoreia*: Houston 37.10, *ARV*² 554, 79, *Add*² 258; Neils and Oakley 2003, cat. 110.
223. *Chamaipous*, e.g., Sutton 1981, 177–96; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32–3.
224. For the romantic aspects, Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45 and Sutton 1997–8.
225. Meanings of the *cheir'epi karpō*: Sutton 1981, 181–3; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32. For dance, compare *Iliad* 18.594, noted in Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32, n. 71.
226. Boston 03.802; see Sutton 1989.
227. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1172, *ARV*² 585, 33, *Add*² 263; Sgorou 1994, 91–2 and 265, cat. R3.
228. Berlin 2530, *ARV*² 831, 20, *Add*² 295; Sutton 1981, 244, cat. W28; Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 91. Sutton 1981, 194, identifies the musician as Apollo, while Oakley and Sinos 1993, 33, and Kaufmann-Samaras 1996, 446, highlight the ambiguity.
229. London D 11, *ARV*² 899, 146, *Add*² 303; Sutton 1989, 355–6, pl. 35; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 34 and figs. 96–98.
230. Sutton 1989, 355, following A. Brückner, "Athenische Hochzeitgeschenke," *AM* 32 (1907), 80–4. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 34–5, point out that this identification is not definite; they suggest that the scene may represent Paris taking Helen for his bride as Hera and Aphrodite watch.
231. Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 9080, *ARV*² 841, 75, *Add*² 296; Sutton 1981, 244, cat. W29; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 33–4, with figs. 92–5.
232. The aulos is specifically mentioned in the context of the *epithalamos* in an epigram by Meleager, cited in Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, 324.
233. For the *thyroros*, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 37.
234. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 16, Reeder 1995, 329, both with further references. See also

- H. Foley, "Marriage and Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*," *Arethusa* 15 (1982), 159–80.
235. Compare discussion in Patterson 1991 and Patterson 1998, 108–9.
236. Athens, Nat. Mus. 16279, *ARV*² 1127, 14; Athens, Nat. Mus. 1174, *ARV*² 1127, 15; Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 85. See Sabetai 1993, 162–8 for the Washing Painter's use of the *cheir'epi karpo* theme.
237. First to include Eros in a *chamaipous*: Sabetai 1993, 162.
238. Würzburg 521, *ARV*² 1046, 7, *Add*² 320; *CVA* Würzburg 2, pls. 19–20.
239. London E 191, *ARV*² 1119, 29; *CVA* British Museum 3, pl. 86.
240. Compare the name vase of the Kassel Painter: Kassel T 435, *ARV*² 1083, 1, *Add*² 327; *CVA* Kassel 1, pl. 36.
241. See Sutton 1981, 186–9, and Sutton 1997–8, 34.
242. Lebetes gamikoi: New York 07.286.35, *ARV*² 1126, 1, *Add*² 332, Reeder 1995, cat. 55; Athens, Nat. Mus. 14791, *ARV*² 1126, 5, Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 38; New York 16.73, *ARV*² 1126, 6, *Add*² 332, Sutton 1997–8, fig. 8. Pyxis: Würzburg H. 4455 (541), *ARV*² 1133, 196, *Add*² 333, Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 24–7, Sabetai 1993, 102–17. Loutrophoros–hydria fragments, all in the Acropolis Museum, Athens: Na55 Aa4; Na55 Aa1873; Na55 Aa428; Na57 Aa3128; Na57 Aa3062; and Na57 Aa3016. The fragments are unpublished; descriptions can be found in Sabetai 1993. Note that the loutrophoros–hydria is distinguished from the loutrophoros–amphora by having three handles instead of two; as Sabetai discusses, the Washing Painter developed different wedding-related motifs for each type.
243. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1171, from Peristeri, *ARV*² 1179, 4; Sgorou 1994, cat. R60. Compare image of bride playing a chelys lyre on the Washing Painter's loutrophoros–hydria fragment, Athens, Nat. Mus. Na57 Aa3016.
244. For the Sanctuary of Nymphe, see R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, NJ, 1978), 197–200; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971), 361–3; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 42–3. The exact provenances of the two lebetes gamikoi in New York are unknown, although New York 07.286.35 is recorded in *ARV*² as being from Greece.
245. Identification with the nuptial bed: Sabetai 1993, 103. For the motif of adornment and hair-binding: Oakley and Sinos 1993, 16.
246. Inner struggles: Oakley and Sinos 1993, 17, with reference to earlier scholarship. Association with erotic love: Sabetai 1993, 115–17.
247. Sabetai 1993, 103, speculates that Aphrodite stands to the right of the Erotes and Peitho to the left.
248. Oakley and Sinos 1993 say she "reminds us once again of the important role of music throughout the ceremony." Sabetai 1993, 105, believes the harp player to be a separate entity and unrelated directly to the other scenes, a "supplementary figure" used as "space filler."
249. A harp-playing bride also appears on the loutrophoros–hydria fragment Na55 Aa428.
250. Sutton 1997–8, 32, with additional references, suggests this is a pose "associated with Aphrodite that probably derives from Alkamenes' famous statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens."
251. Athens 1171; see n. 243 of this chapter.
252. Sutton 1997–8, 33, supports the Aphrodite identification, which was first proposed in Beazley (*ARV*² 1126, 6). Compare a hydria by the Peleus Painter, where a barbitos-playing woman with wreath suspended over her head (a bride?) looks to a stately veiled figure (who may be Hera) with a chest, as another woman (who may be Aphrodite) plucking her drapery stands behind: Athens, Nat. Mus. 17918, *ARV*² 1040, 19bis, *Para* 443; Kaufmann-Samaras 1996, 434, fig. 128. The Hera–Aphrodite suggestion is made in Kaufmann-Samaras 1996, 442.
253. Athens, Nat. Mus. 14791, see n. 242 of this chapter.
254. Athens, Acropolis Museum Na55 Aa4.
255. An attendant also plays a harp on the following examples by the same painter: loutrophoros–hydria fragment Na57 Aa1873 and pyxis, Würzburg 541 (see n. 242 of this chapter).
256. Compare the Danae Painter's bell krater, New York 23.160.80; see Chap. 3.
257. Reeder 1995, 225, re: New York 07.286.35. For the *epaulia* in general, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 38–42 (although they do not

- place the Washing Painter's vases here). For the association of these and other vases with the *epaulia*, see L. Deubner, "Epaulia," *Jdl* 15 (1900), 144–54; A. Brückner, "Athenische Hochzeitgeschenke," *AM* 32 (1907), 91–112.
258. Compare Oakley and Sinos 1993, 20, and Kaufmann-Samaras 1996, 442.
259. Compare Sgorou 1994, 101–8. Sabetai 1993, 70–81, also points out that the scenes do not conform to a "realistic" interpretation, but some of her reasons are not convincing: She suggests that the musical scenes in particular cannot be "realistic" because upper-class women could not receive a musical education. The ambiguous nature of wedding imagery is further explored in Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45–6, and Sabetai 1997.
260. For adornment, Oakley and Sinos 1993, 16–21.
261. Compare Sutton 1981, 191–3, and Oakley and Sinos 1993, 26, for this custom and the role of the mother of the bride. Compare also literary references to her torches in Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 732 and Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 344–6. Sabetai 1993, 122–4, discusses the torch bearer figures on New York 16.73 and elsewhere on the painter's vases, although she suggests that they cannot be identified precisely with the mother of the bride.
262. Sutton 1981, 154–5, and Oakley and Sinos 1993, 35, for this custom. See also discussion of the symbolism of fruit in Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 337–48; the meaning of the fruit also extends to fertility and the hope for children.
263. Compare discussion of brides and Muses in Götte 1957 and Sabetai 1993, as well as Sgorou 1994, 123.
264. The theme of bridal adornment, while alluding to actual preparations, also has this undertone of erotic desirability: Oakley and Sinos 1993, 46–7.
265. From papyrus no. 17 in the John Rylands Library, trans. Hague 1983, 138.
266. For example, lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter, Munich 7578, *ARV*² 1126, 3, *Add*² 332; Reeder 1995, 227–9, cat. 56.
267. Trans. Hague 1983, 137–8, who compares the form of this part of the speech with wedding songs.
268. For commentary on the decree, see Patterson 1981, 1998, and Boegehold 1994. For the relationship of the decree to contemporary art, see also discussion in Sutton 1981, 1992; Sabetai 1993; Osborne 1997.
269. *Constitution of the Athenians* 26.4, trans. Patterson 1998, 109.
270. Patterson 1981, Chaps. 4 and 5, for full discussion.
271. Athens, Nat. Mus. 1629, *ARV*² 1250, 34, *Add*² 354; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, cat. 257, pls. 168–9; Shapiro 1986, 1993a; Rosenzweig 2004, 22–4.
272. For example, Hesiod, *Theogony* 937. Artistic representations of Kadmos and Harmonia prior to the Classical period are few, e.g., black-figure amphora by the Diosphos Painter, where Kadmos and Harmonia (identified by inscription) appear in a variation of the chariot wedding procession, with the chariot drawn by a lion and boar: Louvre CA 1961, *Para* 248, 135; Paribeni 1988, cat. 9.
273. For example, calyx krater by the Spreckels Painter, New York 07.286.66, *ARV*² 617, 2, *Add*² 269; bell krater by the Kassel Painter, New York 22.139.11, *ARV*² 1083, 5; hydria by the Kadmos Painter (name vase), Berlin F 2634, *ARV*² 1187, 33, *Add*² 341. For discussion and other examples see Paribeni 1988 and Shapiro 1993a, 98–105 and 240–2.
274. Shapiro 1986 on the advent of allegory.
275. Compare discussion of Harmonia in Shapiro 1986, 1993a, and Smith 1997, 90–3.
276. For this interpretation, see Shapiro 1986, also accepted in Oakley and Sinos 1993, 41. We can compare the pyxis Würzburg H. 4455 (541) by the Washing Painter, discussed earlier in this chapter.
277. The votive or gift nature of this epinetron is suggested by the painterly rendition of scales on the top, evoking the projections that appeared on other epinetra for carding. For weaving-textile imagery and the *harmonia* of *oikos* and *polis*, note the present author's 2003 College Art Association paper, "The Fabric of the City: Images of Textile Production in Classical Athens."
278. Three known examples, listed in Paribeni 1988 and Shapiro 1993a: pelike by the Meidias Painter, New York 37.11.23, *ARV*² 1313, 7, *Add*² 362; lekanis lid in the manner of

the Meidias Painter, Naples Stg. 316, *ARV*² 1327, 85, *Add*² 364; and pyxis in the manner of the Meidias Painter, London E 775, *ARV*² 1328, 92, *Add*² 364. For these vases and the Meidias Painter generally, see Burn 1987.

279. New York 37.11.23, see preceding note as well as the brief discussion in Chap. 3.
280. Shapiro 1986, 20–21.
281. Trans. Rex Warner in D. Grene and R. Lattimore, eds., *The Complete Greek Tragedies* (Chicago 1955). Cf. Shapiro 1986, 21, for discussion.
282. See now Rosenzweig 2004, 13–28. I thank J. Neils for this reference.
283. Naples Stg. 316 and London E 775; see n. 278 of this chapter.
284. For Eukleia, see Shapiro 1993a, 70–8.
285. For example, Hesiod, *Theogony* 901–2, and Pindar, *Olympian* 13.6–7. Shapiro 1993a, 70, for additional references.
286. For Eunomia, see Shapiro 1993a, 79–85; Smith 1997, 110–16.
287. Oinochoe in the manner of the Meidias Painter: Budapest T 754, *ARV*² 1324, 41bis, *Add*² 364; Shapiro 1996b, 111–12 and fig. 9.

CHAPTER 6: MUSICAL REVOLUTIONS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

1. See e.g. Shapiro 1981b.
2. For the citizenship law, see Chap. 5. For the reforms of Ephialtes and their effects

on Athenian democracy, see for example Raaflaub 1997, with further references.

3. Potentially revealing is a cup by the Eretria Painter: Louvre G 457, *ARV*² 1254, 80, *Add*² 355; Boardman 1989, fig. 237. The tondo of this cup represents one of the last documented appearances of Linos in Athenian vase painting, shown together with a young Mousaios. However, whereas on the Pisto Xenos Painter's skyphos discussed in Chap. 3, Linos is shown as a teacher of *mousike*, here he holds not a musical instrument but a book roll.
4. Trans. Eugene O'Neill, Jr., in *Aristophanes' Knights, Complete Greek Drama* (New York 1938), vol. 2, reproduced on-line as part of the Perseus Project (www.perseus.tufts.edu). Compare Wallace 1998, 218, speaking of post-Periklean politics: "Although many of the characteristics of politics during this period developed out of Periklean antecedents, no longer were age, military ability, or blue-blooded lineage required for political success. The primary necessity was rhetorical skill."
5. Csapo 2004 for recent discussion of the language used by those who reacted against the "New Music" and the ideological implications therein.
6. Trans. Barker 1984, 156–7.
7. Csapo 2004, 208–9, points out that "Athens was in serious competition for top talent," with many poets also being lured to the Macedonian court.

<i>agon</i>	Competition or contest, thus <i>mousikoi agones</i> (musical contests).
<i>alopekis</i>	Thracian-style cap made from animal skin.
<i>arete</i>	Excellence, one of the chief virtues in Greek culture.
<i>aulete</i>	Solo performer on the aulos, without sung accompaniment.
<i>auletris</i>	Female performer of the aulos, pl. <i>auletrides</i> .
<i>aulode</i>	Performer on the aulos who is accompanied by singer.
<i>bema</i>	Platform or dais.
<i>chamaipous</i>	Wedding procession on foot from the bride's family home to the groom's house.
<i>chiton</i>	Long tunic with sleeves.
<i>choregos</i>	Chorus leader.
<i>dike</i>	Justice.
<i>ekklesia</i>	The Athenian assembly.
<i>epithalamion</i>	A type of wedding song.
<i>eunomia</i>	"Good order" or "good custom."
<i>gymnastike</i>	Athletic training and exercise.
<i>habrosyne</i>	Luxury and luxurious behavior.
<i>hetaira</i>	Lit. "companion," a woman who provided companionship, entertainment, and sexual favors.
<i>himation</i>	Cloak or mantle; pl. <i>himatia</i> .
<i>hubris</i>	Excessive pride, especially in the face of the gods.
<i>kalos</i>	"Beautiful," an epithet used in some vase inscriptions to laud an elite male.
<i>kitharist</i>	Solo performer on the kithara, without sung accompaniment.
<i>kitharode</i>	Performer on the kithara who also sings in accompaniment.
<i>klismos</i>	Chair with a back.
<i>komos</i>	Festive procession of revelers [komasts] to and/or from a symposion.
<i>kottabos</i>	Sympotic drinking game involving the flinging of wine drops at a designated target.
<i>Mousagetes</i>	Epithet of Apollo, lit. "leader of the Muses."
<i>nomos</i>	Law or custom. Also refers to a specific melody or composition performed at a formal occasion, such as a contest or festival.
<i>oikos</i>	Describes both the physical house as well as the household within.
<i>paidagogos</i>	Male slave responsible for minding and sometimes tutoring a child.
<i>palaistra</i>	Space for exercise, also used for social gathering.
<i>phorbeia</i>	Strappy device which went around the head and helped an aulos player control his breathing and the instrument while playing.
<i>plektron</i>	Hand-held implement used for playing stringed instruments. Can be made of ivory, bone, horn, or metal.
<i>pompe</i>	Procession, e.g. in a religious festival; pl. <i>pompai</i> .
<i>pyrrhike</i>	Dance with weapons.
<i>sakkos</i>	Cloth headwrap often worn by women.
<i>skolion</i>	Drinking song; pl. <i>skolia</i> .

GLOSSARY

<i>sophrosyne</i>	Moderation, upright behavior.
<i>sunousia</i>	Association, as in the association or relationship between older and younger men in Athenian society.
<i>sybene</i>	Case for holding an aulos.
<i>thiasos</i>	Mythological entourage of Dionysos, including nymphs, satyrs, etc.

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